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"MORMON"

WOMEN'S PROTEST.

AN APPEAL

FOR

FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND EQUAL RIGHTS.

The Ladies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Saints protest against the tyranny and indecency
of Federal Officials in Utah, and
against their own disfran-
chisement without
cause.

Full Account of Proceedings at the Great Mass Meeting,
held in the Theatre,

SALT LAKE CITY UTAH.

Saturday, March 6, 1886.

Deseret News Co., Printers.

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PREFATORY.

THE mass meeting of the women of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, held in the Salt Lake Theatre on the afternoon of Saturday, March 6, 1886, was one of the largest gatherings of the kind ever convened in Utah Territory. The object of the meeting was to protest against the indignities and insults heaped upon the wives and daughters of "Mormons" in the District Courts, and also against the proposed disfranchisement of those of their sex who are innocent of breaking any law. The movement was timely and heroic, and the result, expressed in ringing speeches and resolutions, appeals for freedom, justice, and that chivalrous treatment which the women of Christian nations have every right and reason to expect from the sterner and physically stronger sex, who are their natural champions, justified every anticipation.

As to the effect of the demonstration upon the authorities of the nation and the representatives of the Government in Utah, time can alone determine. Meanwhile, the ladies who so faithfully and patriotically presented their cause can rest assured that the ultimate effect will be for good. The ripple they have caused upon the social and political sea will leave its impress on all Time, and, like the tremor of the wave from a pebble cast into the ocean, cannot cease until it breaks upon the farther shore. The prayers and protests of the downtrodden people of Utah, though despised and unheeded here, will rise on angels' wings to the judgment seat of One who has commanded all men to be just and merciful. Unto Him who has said: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," the cries of the daughters of Zion will not ascend in vain.

The aim of this pamphlet is to preserve in convenient form, for present use and future reference, the record of the proceedings of that memorable day when the "Mormon" women, in mass meeting assembled, found it necessary for their own protection and the honor of their sex throughout the world, to memorialize Congress and the President of the United States for relief from insult and oppression at the hands of Federal officials; to plead for that protection against cruelty and wrong which is woman's peculiar right, and which would be accorded to her, without the asking, in any other corner of the civilized world.

THE MASS MEETING.

The following notice appeared in the leading newspapers of this city five days previous to the mass meeting to which it refers:

"A mass meeting of the ladies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will be held in the Salt Lake Theatre, on Saturday, March 6, 1886, at 2 p. m., to protest against the indignities and insults heaped upon their sex in the District Courts, and also against the disfranchisement of those who are innocent of breaking any law.

"A general invitation is extended to all ladies interested therein, and a full attendance is desired.

"Mrs. M. I. Horne,
"Mrs. H. M. Whitney,
"Mrs. E. S. Taylor,
"Dr. R. B. Pratt,
"In behalf of the Committee."

The call was responded to with enthusiasm. The weather was propitious, and the occasion one of general and momentous interest. Long before the hour of commencing arrived, a large number of ladies assembled within the portico and upon the steps of the Theatre, waiting for the doors to be opened. This being done, the dense but orderly multitude thronged into the building, which was soon packed from pit to dome. The standing room in the aisles and promenade was also quickly taken and crowded almost to suffocation, and hundreds of people were unable to gain admittance. The vast majority of the audience, which probably aggregated two thousand souls, were ladies, though a fair sprinkling of the male sex, mostly in sympathy with the meeting and its object, was observable in different parts of the house.

Upon the stage, which was also crowded to its full capacity, were seated many of the representative women of Utah, some of whom were the wives and daughters of men incarcerated in the penitentiary for refusing to cast off their families and brand them with dishonor. The Tabernacle choir, with Professor E. Beesley, leader, and Professor J. J. Daynes, organist, were assigned seats at the left of the platform, and the Sixteenth Ward Brass Band, led by Captain Smith, was stationed in the orchestra. The front chairs on the stage were occupied by ladies who were to take active part in the proceedings. A stand was placed in the centre for the speakers, and two tables, one at the right and the other at the left extreme of the stage, were used respectively by the secretaries of the meeting and representatives of the press.

The band played choice selections while the vast assembly was being seated, and at the appointed hour, 2. p.m., the convention was called to order by Mrs. Elizabeth Howard.

Mrs. M. Isabella Horne was nominated for chairman of the meeting by Dr. Romania B. Pratt. The nomination being seconded and put to the house, was unanimously sustained.

The following named ladies were nominated for vice-chairmen: Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball, by Mrs. Emily Richards; Mrs. Elmina S. Taylor, by Mrs. Cornelia H. Clayton; Mrs. Jane S. Richards, by Mrs. Maria Dougall; Mrs. Priscilla Staines, by Miss Nellie Colebrook; Mrs. Mary Pitchforth, by Mrs. Edna Smith; Mrs. Mary John, by Dr. Ellis R. Shipp; Mrs. Bathsheba W. Smith, by Mrs. Elizabeth Howard.

Mrs. Laura Miner nominated Mrs. Elizabeth Howard for secretary. Miss Nellie Colebrook and Mrs. Cornelia H. Clayton were chosen assistant secretaries, and Mrs. Zina D. H.

Young, chaplain. Miss Celia Sharp acted as stenographic reporter. The nominations all received the unanimous endorsement of the meeting.

The choir sang:

> **"Stars of morning, shout for joy!**
> **Sing redemption's mystery."**

The Chaplain offered up the following prayer:

"Our Father who art in heaven! We pray Thee that our hearts may be called in at this time that we may rejoice in Thee, the true and the living God, who art the Father of us all. We pray Thee to bless each one that shall speak this day, and those who make music, that it may ascend to Thee, and that the angels may come down and mingle with us. Let our hearts be as one, never to be separated through time or eternity. Bless President Taylor, whose blood has been spilt in times past for thy sake. Let thy holy blessing rest upon Brother Cannon, who is under bonds for thy name's sake. We pray Thee, Father, for all that bear the holy Priesthood in thy kingdom, to assist in preparing us and the children of men for thy divine presence. We ask Thee to bless the president of this meeting and have mercy upon us all. Thou knowest the cause for which we have assembled, and thou knowest our trials. Father, try us no more than we can bear. Bless all the earth and have mercy upon those who do not worship Thee as we do. Bless those who are in prison for the Gospel's sake, and the hundreds of desolate families who mourn for the head of the family. Bless the authorities at Washington, and may their hearts be softened and not be filled with wrath towards us. We dedicate this meeting unto Thee and pray that thy name may be glorified. These, with all other blessings thou seest we stand in need of, we ask in the name of Jesus. Amen."

Singing by the choir; quartet and chorus:

> **"We hail thee, lovely Deseret!"**

PRESIDENT M. ISABELLA HORNE

Made the opening address and stated the object of the meeting. She expressed the regrets of Mrs. Eliza R. Snow Smith, president of the women's organizations of the Latter-day Saints, who was absent from the city and unable to be present, but said that she had received a letter from that lady stating that she was heart and soul in the movement of the hour. The speaker continued:

"It is with peculiar feelings that I stand before you this afternoon. To think that, in this boasted land of liberty, there is any need for a meeting of this kind to protest against insult and injury from those who have sworn to administer the law with justice and equity. It has been said by some, 'what good will it do to hold a mass meeting?' If it does no other good, it will be a matter of history, to be handed down to our posterity, that their mothers rose up in the dignity of their womanhood to protest against insults and indignities heaped upon them. It will also be written in the archives above, where 'angels are silent notes taking,' and will have to be met by those persons who are waging this bitter crusade against us. And why should we, a few people in these valleys of the mountains, be subject to these insults aside from the rest of the commonwealth? Why should we have legislative enactments against us as a people because we obey the laws of God and the first commandment given, 'to multiply and replenish the earth.' Congress might with more propriety legislate against the priests and nuns of the Catholic church who forbid to marry, for if their practices were universal where would the strength and perpetuity of our nation be?

"We as a people do not believe in taking the law in our own hands; it is against the teachings of our Prophet and Seer and our present authorities. The Lord has marked out a course of action for this people. It is written in the book of

Doctrine and Covenants that when our enemies persecute and oppress us, we should petition the judges; if they will not hear us, we should petition the governor, and if he will not hear us, we should petition the president. To my own personal knowledge this counsel was obeyed by the Prophet Joseph Smith, who went himself with some of his brethren to the governor of Illinois, Governor Carlin, and the president of the United States, Martin VanBuren, asking that our wrongs of Missouri be redressed. The answer was, 'Mr. Smith, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you.' Is it any wonder that the Prophet was led to exclaim, 'the glory of American freedom is on the wane.' We have been persecuted and driven from our homes a number] of times, and submitted without retaliation, for the Lord has said, 'vengeance is mine, and I will repay.'

"Must we, women of the Church of Jesus Christ ot Latter-day Saints, still submit to insults and injury without raising our voices against it? And why are we thus persecuted? Because we choose to unite ourselves to honorable, God-fearing men, who, in virtue, honor, integrity and faithfulness to the marriage vow, stand head and shoulders above Federal officials who ply our brethren with questions regarding their future conduct, which is without precedent in the annals of court proceedings. We all feel the insults offered our sisters when brought into court and forced to answer indecent questions by threats of fine and imprisonment. And we do most solemnly protest against further legislative enactments to disfranchise a whole community, who have committed no crime, only for religious belief.

"It has been said by the chief executive of the nation, 'I wish you could be like us.' And what is that? They marry one wife and degrade as many women as they choose. God forbid that we should descend to their level! We believe in the elevation of woman, and live on a higher plane. Our husbands marry wives and honor them and their children by giving them their names and acknowledging them in society. We are not surprised that we are persecuted for obeying the laws of God, for our Savior has said, 'it must needs be that offenses come, but woe be to them by whom they come.'"

At the close of the president's address, a motion was made by Dr. Romania B. Pratt that a committee on resolutions be appointed.

The motion having prevailed, the following named ladies were appointed as that committee: Romania B. Pratt, Fanny Thatcher and Edna Smith, of Salt Lake City; Jennie Tanner, of Provo, and H. C. Brown, of Ogden. The committee retired to prepare the resolutions. The following address was then delivered by

MRS. PRESCINDIA L. KIMBALL.

"*Mrs. President and Ladies:*

"I stand before you a native born citizen of the United States. My grandfather fought in the revolutionary war to establish a free government on this continent, and my father fought in the war of 1812 to secure and perpetuate a free government and to protect the rights and liberties of the citizens of the republic. I, their descendant, now stand up before this assembly to protest against the oppression of those who would take from us the rights and liberties which our fathers risked their lives to obtain. What would our fathers say, the founders of this republic, if they could rise from their graves and see the glorious Constitution which they framed and bequeathed to all future generations, as the palladium of liberty, overridden and downtrodden by demagogues and torn to fragments by the schemes of corrupt men, whose object is to oppress and injure the helpless.

"We came out from the United States to this desert and mountainous country, that we might worship God according to the dictates of our consciences. We had broken no laws of God or man. We had committed no crimes, but we were driven from our homes by angry mobs because we desired to worship God in the way that had been revealed to us. We made our homes in these mountains and have lived here as loyal and law-abiding citizens.

"Now, nearly at the close of the nineteenth century, we find the horrors of the inquisition revived for our destruction—free-born, pure-minded and delicate women are brought before a cruel and prejudiced court by lewd and debauched deputies; insulted and brow-beaten by malicious officials, and if, in obedience to their pure and noble womanhood, they refuse to answer the indecent questions, they are threatened with imprisonment in the penitentiary, where murderers and thieves are incarcerated, there to pay the penalty of contempt of court.

"Oh Liberty, Justice, where is thy dwelling place!

"I feel it is time for the daughters of Zion to arise. Our cause is just. We have broken no law of God—no righteous law of man. We know by experience what the present crusade means. We will be true to God and live lives of purity."

Mrs. Cornelia H. Clayton then read the following address by

MRS. H. C. BROWN.

"*Dear Friends:*

"We have met to-day to unite our voices in protesting against the cruel enforcement of special legislative enactments brought to bear upon us as a people, and we appeal to every honest mind and heart to use their influence to stay the shameful proceedings by which pretended courts of justice are converted into courts of inquisition; that honest, virtuous, Christian women may no longer be subjected to insult and abuse, nor have every feeling of parental and conjugal love, and every sense of religious duty, outraged and trampled upon.

"We are here, not as Latter-day Saints, but as American citizens—members of that great commonwealth which our noble grandsires fought and bled to establish—legal heirs to those rights and privileges bequeathed by that heaven-inspired document—the Constitution of the United States. Yes, legal heirs, yet illegally, unconstitutionally deprived of that dearest, most cherished of all rights – freedom to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences.

"And this within the limits of a government founded upon religious liberty. This in a nation whose legislators point proudly to the brave Pilgrim Fathers and mothers as their ancestors, and then turn to crush their fellow creatures—descendants of the same noble parentage.

"O consistency, where art thou fled! O Justice, surely thy face must hide itself in shame, when loyal men and women are denied the right of citizenship, because, forsooth, they would serve God and fear Him rather than man.

"Once again we protest against the unjust designs and unlawful enactments of unscrupulous men, blinded by selfish ambition to all the best interests of our government as well as to their own eternal welfare.

"And we would say to them and to the world that, rather than forego one principle of our holy religion, rather than yield the right to act upon our own convictions of duty, we would, if need be, endure exile or imprisonment, or whatever our Heavenly Father may see fit in His wisdom to require of us; and, like the Saints of former days, suffer rather than accept deliverance, that we may inherit a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

DR. ELLEN B. FERGUSON

Was next introduced, and spoke as follows:

"*Mrs. President, my Sisters and Fellow Citizens:*

"We are assembled here to-day in the capacity of a mass meeting, to lift our voices in protest against certain wrongs that are being perpetrated in this community, at the close of the nineteenth century, wrongs that would shame civilization two hundred years ago.

It is indeed a shame that in free America, among a people where men pride themselves upon being the defenders and protectors of woman, women are compelled to meet and protest against insult and indignity heaped upon them in the courts. Strange it is that while in New York Americans are erecting a statue to liberty that shall lift up the beacon light of freedom to all the nations of the earth, that here in one of the dependencies of this republic women are led to prison and subjected to insult for no crime. Strange it is that here in Utah the purest, noblest and best of America's citizens should be compelled to make public protest against injury and injustice received from those who have sworn to uphold and maintain the laws—but no less strange than true.

"Sixteen years ago the Legislative Assembly of Utah conferred upon the women of this Territory the right of franchise. Various causes led to this. There had been a great deal of agitation in the past over the 'Mormon' problem which was just then looming up for discussion, and among the plans proposed for its solution was that of giving the ballot to the women, in the belief that by it they would burst the chains in which they were held, and free themselves from the temporal and spiritual bondage of their masters—the 'Mormon' priesthood. In accordance with this spirit, and acting upon suggestions made in Congress for this purpose, our own Legislature was the first to place the ballot in the hands of woman, feeling assured that she would use it in the cause of justice virtue, purity and truth. The women of Utah were enfranchised and have held the ballot as a sacred trust ever since, and I defy any of our bitterest enemies to bring one single, solitary proof that any woman in Utah has cast an unrighteous ballot or voted for those whose lives or characters were stained with infamy or dishonor. We look for purity and integrity in our public officers and as far as we know them we have voted only for such men.

"Now the government of the United States, whose protecting care is particularly exercised over the Territories, they not being considered as having arrived at their majority, is seeking to deprive the women of this Territory of the right of suffrage, not because we have committed crime; not because we have used it unjustly—no—but because we believe that our conscience should dictate our religious faith, and that as we have faith in God and in His revelations, so believe and so we act.

"There are various reasons urged for this measure. One that we most frequently hear mentioned is that the women of Utah vote under coercion and priestly dictation. This I most positively deny. At the same time do we hear these would-be protectors of the freedom of the ballot say anything about the priestly dictation to which the whole Catholic population of the United States is subject, where men instead of women vote according to the counsel and advice of priestly authority? No; this is altogether a different matter. They know and the master under whose instructions they are acting knows too well that here is to be the last great conflict between truth and error; between the religion of God and the religion of Lucifer. The women of Utah, the majority of them, belong to the kingdom of God, and because they exercise their rights and privileges so as to assist in building up that kingdom, for that reason they are to be deprived of them.

"No talk of disfranchising the Irish, though they never forswear their allegiance to the Pope of Rome. His authority over them is paramount, and their obedience to the authority of their church complete. Yet we, who are obedient to every Constitutional law, and acknowledge no earthly power but the government of the United States, must be deprived of our rights, and subjected to indignity and insult. The provisions of the Constitution must be trampled upon that we may be oppressed because we belong to that condemned people, the 'Mormons.'

"I have often heard it said by outsiders that the 'Mormons' have no rights. We are in as bad a fix as the Chinese, perhaps even a little worse, for when they were driven and mobbed, the President (under the sting of the Chinese Emperor's threats) sends a message to Congress asking for fair play for the Chinamen. But has he, with all that we have suffered, ever sent to Congress demanding justice for the 'Mormons?' No.

"In the interest of morality, so called, they put the honorable polygamist in prison, while the seducer walks the streets in the blaze of noonday unwhipped of justice. The man who destroys innocent girls, who dishonors his neighbor's wife or daughter has no fear of a deputy marshal. They do not trouble such men; they are too much alike. 'Birds of a feather will flock together.' While they are perpetrating their acts of infamy, no deputy peeps through their windows to watch them, but if an honorable 'Mormon' associates with his family, spotters and spies are employed to watch his house, to skulk round his premises, or even to roost in the trees near by, to find out which wife he is with.

"Are these the acts of American officials—of a free and enlightened government in the latter part of the nineteenth century? They are, I am sorry to say it to their shame.

"I am not a native born citizen of America, and years before I trod these shores I thought that the oppressed of every nation whether Jew or Gentile could here find a refuge and an asylum. So can every one except a 'Mormon.'

"History repeats itself. We are doing to-day what our forefathers did one hundred and twenty-six years ago—protesting against injustice and oppression. When they found the tyranny of the English government could no longer be endured they met and protested against the wrongs they suffered and demanded a redress of grievances. As the English government paid no attention to their protest, they fought and gained their point by force of arms; and now, after controlling the government for more than a century, their descendants turn round, and by acts of persecution and wrong-doing compel us to meet as they had done, and petition for a redress of our grievances, and protest against cruel wrongs perpetrated in our midst, especially against the injustice of depriving us of the only means we have of expressing our opinions, and of showing to the world that we desire to uphold righteousness and virtue.

"The ballot in the hand of woman is a mighty power, and our enemies know it, and this is why they seek to take it from us. Silent as it is it voices to the whole world that women have never used it in the interest of vice. May the day never dawn that shall see the women of Utah without the ballot, but may that time speedly arrive when all the women of this nation will be alike blessed with us.

"It is time that the nation should call a halt. Let them remember '*vox populi, vox Dei.*' When the people of any Territory unite in demanding redress for wrongs they are suffering, Congress would do well to listen without delay. There will come a day when those who are engaged in this cruel crusade against the Latter-day Saints will bitterly repent of their unjustifiable treatment of innocent and unoffending women. There is a tribunal before which we must all appear to account for the deeds done in the body, when even-handed and exact justice will be meted out to all. I know not what excuse our enemies will then offer for their treatment of us as a people, certainly not the excuse of ignorance. I cannot see that any justification is possible for them. We have not infringed upon the rights or liberties of any one. Our covenants belong not to the world, but are inseparable from our religion, and on these grounds are not subject to the control of the civil law.

"Madame Roland, one of the most illustrious victims of the

French Revolution, exclaimed, 'O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!' And we may well say, O Religion and Morality, what crimes are committed in your names! The Constitution expressly states that 'no religious test shall be required from any one holding a position of profit or trust under the United States,' but in defiance and violation of this article a religious test oath has been formulated in Idaho, and is proposed to be enacted here, that debars any person from voting or exercising any rights of citizenship who simply believes in the doctrines of the 'Mormon' Church, and aliens are refused naturalization on the same grounds. Will these test oaths move us? No. We know what the aim of our enemies is. It is to sweep 'Mormonism' from the face of the earth; but the work is of God, and they cannot do it."

Here the committee on resolutions re-entered and reported the following, which was read by the secretary, and unanimously and enthusiastically adopted:

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE WOMEN OF UTAH IN MASS MEETING ASSEMBLED.

Whereas, The rights and liberties of women are placed in jeopardy by the present cruel and inhuman proceedings in the Utah courts, and in the contemplated measure in Congress to deprive the women voters in Utah of the elective franchise; and,

Whereas, Womanhood is outraged by the compulsion used in the courts of Utah to force mothers on pain of imprisonment to disclose their personal condition and that of their friends in relation to anticipated maternity, and to give information as to the fathers of their children; and,

Whereas, These violations of decency have now reached the length of compelling legal wives to testify against their husbands without their consent, in violation both of written statutes and the provisions of the common law, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the women of Utah in mass meeting assembled, that the suffrage originally conferred upon us as a political privilege, has become a vested right by possession and usage for fifteen years, and that we protest against being deprived of that right without process of law, and for no other reason than that we do not vote to suit our political opponents.

Resolved, That we emphatically deny the charge that we vote otherwise than according to our own free choice, and point to the fact that the ballot is absolutely secret in Utah as proof that we are protected in voting for whom and what we choose with perfect liberty.

Resolved, That as no wife of a polygamist, legal or plural, is permitted to vote under the laws of the United States, to deprive non-polygamous women of the suffrage is high-handed oppression for which no valid excuse can be offered.

Resolved, That the questions concerning their personal condition, the relationship they bear to men marked down as victims to special law, and the paternity of their born and unborn children, which have been put to women before grand juries and in open courts in Utah, are an insult to pure womanhood, an outrage upon the sensitive feelings of our sex and a disgrace to officers and judges who have propounded and enforced them.

Resolved, That we honor those noble women who, standing upon their rights and refusing to reply to improper and insulting questions, such as no true man nor any court with any regard for propriety would compel them to answer, have gone to prison and suffered punishment without crime, rather than betray the most sacred confidence and yield to the brutal mandates of a little brief authority.

Resolved, That the action of the District Attorney and the Chief Justice of Utah, in compelling a lawful wife to testify for the prosecution in a criminal case involving the liberty of her husband and in face of her own earnest protest, is a violation of laws which those officials have sworn to uphold, is contrary to precedent and usage for many centuries, and is an invasion of family rights and of that union between husband and wife which both law and religion have held sacred from time immemorial.

Resolved, That we express our profound appreciation of the moral courage exhibited by Senators Call, Morgan, Teller, Brown and others, and also by Mrs. Belva H. Lockwood, who, in the face of almost overwhelming prejudice, have defended the constitutional rights of the people of Utah.

Resolved, That we extend our heartfelt thanks to the ladies of the Woman Suffrage Association assembled in Boston, and unite in praying that God may speed the day when both men and women shall shake from their shoulders the yoke of tyranny.

Resolved, That we call upon the wives and mothers of the United States to come to our help in resisting these encroachments upon our liberties and these outrages upon our peaceful homes and family relations, and that a committee be appointed at this meeting to memorialize the President and Congress of the United States in relation to our wrongs, and to take all necessary measures to present our views and feelings to the country.

MRS. HANNAH T. KING

Addressed the meeting. Said she:

"*My Noble Sisters:*

"Why do we see the stage thronged to-day? and the auditorium equally crowded, all women? Why has this large assembly congregated together by appointment, and by mutual consent? It is to express the disgust and wounded feelings that all are suffering at this time, when the hard hand of oppression is so heavy upon our people! Yes, and more especially have we met to express our most indignant feelings at the uncourteous, indelicate, not to say insulting, treatment our sisters have experienced of late in the courts of our Territory, before the judges sitting in the chair of justice! Questions have been boldly asked of them that even their closest friends would not have presumed to ask them, and feelings of the tenderest nature have been ruthlessly trampled upon, and when some have determined not to answer such questions, they have been sent to prison for contempt of court! Most apt is that word, no other could so properly express the feelings such conduct must engender, as the natural principle of cause and effect!

"Why! the *demi monde* when brought into court for licentiousness are treated with decent consideration, but honorable wives, united by the holiest covenants that hearts can make and words express, must submit and bear silently whatever insulting questions their judges please to propound to them, simply because they are members of the Church of Jesus Christ, founded by Him, and they obey its principles, every one of which is holy, pure and true. It is for this we are assembled here to-day, to raise our voices before high heaven and to the world, and to protest against the dignity of our womanhood being outraged in this uncalled-for manner, for the fraternity of our religion is such that when one member suffers the whole body feels wounded.

"I cannot refrain from asking here: Are we in America, that glorious, world-renowned country, proudly denominated 'the land of the free and the home of the brave,' that formerly raised its voice to the world, and declared it should be the home for the destitute and down-trodden of every nation under heaven, and that every form of religion should be allowed and protected under the broad and fostering folds of its glorious flag and its heaven-inspired Constitution? Oh! I could weep to see and know how are the mighty fallen and the fine gold become dim! Where shall this oppressed people turn for redress? Who shall lift the heavy hand of oppression from off their shoulders? Scripture says: 'Cursed is he that putteth his trust in the arm of flesh;' but should the Lord see fit to raise up such an arm it will be filled by His spirit, and the power of the Holy One will alone be wielded by it.

"Oh, my sisters, let us live closer to Him than we have hitherto done! He is our Father, and we are His daughters, and we have made holy covenants with Him in holy places. Our marriage vows are the most sacred. Let us live and rejoice in the knowledge which His everlasting Gospel has bestowed upon us, and while our wounded hearts are smarting beneath the cruelty of our enemies, let us echo the words of our blessed Savior under more exquisite suffering, as an excuse for them: 'They know not what they do!' Let this stand as a shield between them and the people they are so cruelly oppressing.

"Will they still continue so obtuse after they have heard and read the protest of this assembly of injured women? Will they still persist in their unmanly language and insulting questions to them? If so, we will take refuge in the words of the Lord, 'vengeance is mine, and I will repay.' So mote it be. Amen."

Miss Nellie Colebrook then read, in a very spirited manner, the following poem, written for the occasion by Emily Hill Woodmansee:

GIVE THE "MORMONS" THEIR RIGHTS.

In behalf of the "Mormons" the following address is respectfully submitted to every lover of freedom and fair play in the United States of America; also to the members of the House of Representatives, and of the Senate, and to all honest hearted people elsewhere.

Must the "Mormons" be mute, when compassion is weeping?
  And sorrows unnumbered are right at our door?
Should "the daughter of Zion" be quietly sleeping—
  As if the dark day of her bondage were o'er?
Our wrongs and our cares—must we welcome as sweet?
Or walk into snares that are laid for our feet?

Like a whirlwind approaching, vile laws now are pending,
If passed, all the pillars of freedom will shake;
"Our cause is most just," yet it claims such defending;
"The women of Mormondom" needs must awake.
Thus, we humbly petition Columbia's nation,
To frown on oppression, and harsh legislation.

Our foes trouble little, or nothing to mention,
For "poor Mormon women," or "down-trodden wives."
Were polygamy only the bone of contention,
The "Mormons" might vote all the rest of their lives.
Our foes may not count us smart, sensible folks;
But we see through their purpose—contempt it provokes.

We prize not their pity, whose aim is to plunder
A people who strictly to peace are inclined;
If the "Mormons" lose patience need any one wonder,
Who considers our wrongs, by the crafty designed.
Yet they'll harvest disgrace where they hope for renown,
Who for power or place thrust the innocent down.

We appeal to the people in freedom's dominions—
To the fair-minded millions who love what is right;
Must the "Mormons" be robbed for their faith and opinions—
Crush'd and ground, 'twixt the millstones of greed and of spite?
Is it needful or lawful to wrest freedom from us
For what we believe, or for what we can't promise?

Our honor is priceless, our rights are all precious,
Our affections are sacred, our households are dear;
Our husbands are heroes, in spite of the specious
And wonderful (?) rulings of judges so queer,
Who shift their decisions, around and around,
Till for "Mormons" a verdict of "guilty" is found.

"The world loves its own," but it "hates us," and fights us,
Our rights are withheld, and our friends are in prison;
Yet, we never are comfortless, always, the righteous
"Through much tribulation" to glory have risen.
Let the spirit of fairness, quench bigotry's fire;
Then, the "Mormons" will reap all the praise they desire.

Foretold was our fate, of a truth "men revile us,"
And the meanest of motives, our foes thus disguise;
Their black-hearted falsehoods will fail to defile us,
But the masses are misled by plausible lies.
Alas! that such libels so stript of the truth;
Are read more than Bibles, by thousands forsooth.

If the vex'd "Mormon problem," must have a solution,
'Tis time something nobler than hate should be tried;
Sure, the "Mormons" have suffer'd enough persecution,
Yet sustained by their faith, they have lived, they have thrived.
The more they are slander'd, and hunted and driven—
The more they are prosper'd, and favor'd of heaven.

Praise! Surely is due to the stout heartel exiles—
Who rescu'd from barrenness Utah's broad vales;
Who built all the bridges, and leveled the ridges
And braved all the hardships such settling entails.
God bless our endeavor; He rescues us ever,
Though ev'ry thing fails, shall we doubt Him? No never.

Our homage we yield to the Lord, our defender,
For manifold mercies, what less can we do?
"To Cæsar" the "Mormons" submissively render
Whatsoever is just, whatsoever is due.
But to those who would crush us or fleece us by law,
We can't for the life of us kneel down in awe.

To statesmen we turn, yea, we ask for protection,
In the land that with blood, was from tyranny freed;
Must the "Mormons" to-day be the only exception
To the hosts who can honor their conscience indeed?
Oh ye, whose brave fathers scaled freedom's proud heights
Concede to the "Mormons" their God-given rights.

The reading, which was excellent, together with the stirring sentiments of the poem, was greeted with vociferous applause. The band rendered "Hail Columbia" in fine style, after which the following address, written by

MRS. MATTIE H. TINGEY,

Was read by Mrs. Cornelia H. Clayton:

"*Mrs. President and Ladies:*

"We deeply regret that within the confines of the republic of the United States circumstances have occurred which warrant and necessitate the women of a community assembling themselves together to protest against injury and insult, and that, too, by Federal officials.

"It is an acknowledged fact that the more civilized and highly educated a nation becomes, the more are women protected, elevated and honored.

"Can it be that our great republic has retrograded to a semi-barbarous state, that men are upheld and retained in office who wilfully and maliciously seek to drag honorable, pure-minded women into their presence, for the purpose of insulting them with questions that cause the blush of shame to mantle the cheek of every true lover of virtue and morality? It cannot be possible.

"From our childhood, when, dressed in holiday attire, we marched under the honored stars and stripes, to the patriotic strains of 'Hail Columbia' and 'Star Spangled Banner,' in celebrating the glorious 'Fourth,' and assembled in large congregations to listen to the reading of the 'Declaration of Independence,' and to the soul-stirring, patriotic speeches of our fathers, husbands and brothers, until our hearts swelled with patriotic fervor, up to the present time, we have looked upon the Constitution of the United States as an inspired document, and our republic, the greatest and most liberal government on earth—in very truth the 'land of the free' and the 'home of the brave,' and the words 'God and our country' have been almost inseparable in our minds.

"Shall we then, mothers, wives and daughters of citizens of this great republic, sit quietly down, like slaves, and see our rights taken from us, our characters maligned and insults heaped upon us, all because of religion, the free exercise of which is guaranteed to us by the glorious Constitution of our country? Methinks I hear from every nook and corner of this spacious building the ringing answer, No! a thousand times no! So long as the God of heaven gives us breath and power of speech we will maintain our rights as citizens of the United States, and protest against women being subjected to such indignities as have been offered to the women of our community by Federal officials, who should be our protectors against everything of such a nature.

"And we also protest against the disfranchisement of law-abiding, honorable American citizens because of religious belief.

"We also wish to join with our sisters in thanking the honorable Senator Call, and other able Senators, also the National Woman's Suffrage Association, who have so bravely defended our cause in the national Congress. May heaven reward them according to their works. For our Savior has said, 'with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.'"

MRS. RUTHINDA E. MONCH,

Of Ogden, was introduced, and addressed the meeting in these words:

"*Mrs. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

"I too feel to mingle my voice with my sisters on this occasion and protest against the unjust treatment to which we have been subjected by petty officials, under the name of law and justice. Here in our own free land of America—yes, America, which invites all nations to come from under tyrannical sway and partake of her sweet boon of freedom.

"It seems to me a fitting time for our long silence to be broken when innocent, modest and delicate ladies, sisters of ours, are dragged before courts, where justice has long since ceased to rule, and there subjected to interrogations which cause innocence to shrink, modesty to blush, and virtue to hang her head in shame; the thoughts of which cause every drop of blood to tingle in one's veins. And if for modesty's sake she will not answer their low and indecent questions, she is charged with contempt of court, the penalty of which is everything but desirable.

"Our family ties are severed, and home, the sweetest and dearest place on earth, is desecrated. Husbands and fathers are ruthlessly torn from the embrace of loving wives and doting children and cast among robbers and murderers. Such a change of companions is horrible, to say the least, while very often destitute and helpless wives are left to provide for themselves and babes. Such things are an outrage on peaceable citizens who have committed no crime. We are citizens during tax-paying time, but many of us are not considered so on election days; and now they fain would wrest the franchise from all the women of Utah, because, forsooth, they vote for brave and honorable men whom they can trust and not for those who are their enemies. Are our rights like children's toys, to be given and taken away at will?

"Like the Swiss, many of us were born among the crags and peaks of a free country, and have inhaled the free mountain air till freedom is instilled in our natures. We prefer the garb of freedom when it can be worn without the sacrifice of nobler and more sacred principles; if not, we will honorably wear the shackles of oppression.

"We wish our outside friends to understand that we are not so ignorant, because we are 'Mormons,' that we do not understand what our rights and privileges are. Nor are we devoid of natural feelings and affections, that we tamely submit to insult and abuse from those who wish to show their authority over us. Our natures are among the most sensitive, our affections are tender and pure, and when the fiery darts touch our family circles they penetrate the tenderest fibres of our hearts; and when our rights are trampled upon we keenly feel the oppression. But 'to bear and not deserve is highest wisdom' and we are buoyed up by one great hope that 'truth is mighty and will prevail,' and for truth's sake we bear wrongs and grievances innumerable.

"But we know what should be, and what should not be. We know that in no other civilized country is the wife compelled to testify against the husband. But here in this free land she is compelled to do so or perjure herself, and thus the sanctity of the home circle is destroyed. The secrets between husband and wife are revealed in open court, and sent broadcast o'er the land.

"Think of this, O American people! and America, cease to boast of freedom, and turn to your mother countries and learn a lesson of liberty. While we feel to honor our country, and stand firm and true to its constitutional laws, and to uphold and sustain the executors thereof, we hold in contempt those officials who turn and twist the law to suit themselves, and wrest from us our rights and privileges, because they are strong and we are weak. O ye lords of creation, how long will you suffer the cries of innocence to appeal to you in vain for the grievances you are inflicting? Soon, aye soon, we shall appeal to that Higher Tribunal, and there we shall not long appeal in vain. In the meantime, we will not yield one point of our sacred religion, no, never. And in the time to come to be a Latter-day Saint shall be greater than to be a king."

The next speaker was

DR. ROMANIA B. PRATT.

"*Mrs. President and Ladies;*

"It is our best policy, as it is our duty, and in accordance with our religion and the counsels of our leaders, to meet all afflictions with patience, and to 'suffer wrong rather than do wrong.' 'Defense should be our motto,' and it is the motive of this meeting to-day. The mountain of evil that has been and is in prospect of being heaped upon our people, the real brunt and heft of which falls on the devoted heads of women and innocent children, has put it into the hearts of the women of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to protest against such unjust and unnecessary proceedings, and, if possible, to make a plain statement of our principles and opinions; for be it known to all the world we most assuredly possess both, and are neither slow nor weak in making them known and felt as far as we can, in a righteous way.

"One of the most dangerous evils with which we are threatened and against which we most solemnly and earnestly protest, is the ruthless and inhuman invasion of the sanctity of the marriage relation and the destruction of the home circle. It has been said by a prominent Federal official that 'the American idea of government is founded on the Christian idea of home, where one father and one mother, each the equal of the other, happy in the consciousness of mutual and eternal affection, rear about the hearth-stone an intelligent and God-fearing family. Patriotism springs from love of country, which is born of love for home; virtue and morality are the flowers which adorn the hearth-stone of the true family.'

"This word-picture is as true as it is beautiful. Is there anything evil in a plurality of such homes? We wish to deal with stern facts to-day, and we therefore ask if the majority of monogamous families of the United States, or even the world, are very profusely adorned with the flowers of virtue and morality. The above quotation, in point of actual fact, we unhesitatingly assert, and with a profound feeling of positive knowledge, to be the very ideal and inspiration of the majority of 'Mormon' plural families. Can a true and veritable marriage which receives the divine sanction be immoral or the issue illegitimate?

"Certainly at this point the bone of contention is made bare and the question is asked 'is it of divine origin?' Who but the individual can decide this for himself? The things of God are only understood by the spirit of God, and when you rob the individual of his right of conscience by legislation, the greatly to be mourned nuptials of church and state are celebrated and the worm of destruction has entered the heart of the Constitution of our beloved home of liberty. All honor be given by the Latter-day Saints to Senators Morgan, Call, Teller and others for the unanswerable resolutions and arguments they have laid before the Senate in our behalf. And also to Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, who has had the moral courage to speak the truth as she found it when with us, and in a most able manner has raised her voice to stay the flood of prejudice which is surging over our people.

"Chancellor Kent, who has been quoted as an authority on law, says: 'It is within the legitimate scope of the power of every civil government to determine whether plural marriage or monogamy shall be the law of social life under its dominion.' Now who is the higher authority—Chancellor Kent or any earthly law-maker or the God of the universe who created all things and has the right to command in the affairs of earth? Give both systems a fair and patient trial, and let the results be proved by the 'survival of the fittest.'

"A true marriage cannot be productive of evil, for it is the perfect union of heart and soul, sanctified by mutual consent and sealed by God's holy ordinance. The 'Mormon' marriage covenant is as binding on the man as the woman, for any departure from the marriage law is a deadly sin and is punished with us by excommunication from the Church, which we regard as spiritual death. And it is dependent upon the covenants the sinner has made whether he can ever be re-admitted as a member again. The Latter-day Saints regard plural marriage as an extension of all the privileges and good results arising from single marriage. Has not every woman the undeniable right to be an honorable wife and mother—of fulfilling the end of her creation, and do not the circumstances of life and statistics prove this to be impossible under the monogamic system? And were this the acknowledged law of the land, would it not lay the ax at the root of the greatest evil that has ever cursed the land?

"If the same ceremony seals each wife to her husband, may not each family be a realization of the beautiful picture of one father and one mother, each the equal of the other in that family, happy in the consciousness of mutual and eternal affection, rear about the hearth-stone an intelligent and God-fearing family? The raising of an intelligent and God-fearing family is the very essence of the reason for the revelation of celestial marriage, for God has said 'He will raise up unto himself a righteous seed.' Can the children of men who daily pollute themselves in the society of abandoned women be a righteous seed? Can wives love, honor and be faithful to husbands they absolutely know are faithless to them? Thank God that by virtue of woman's inherent goodness, wives in the monogamy of the world are more faithful a thousand to one than the husbands!

"And a pertinent question arises in speaking of abandoned women. If it had been possible for them to become loving and beloved wives, would there be so many abandoned? The fidelity, the hallowed sacredness and dignity of each wife's family hearth-stone can be abundantly verified among this people. The marriage covenant is eternal, and is equal to each wife in all its blessings, powers and privileges, as each is equally faithful and worthy. The union for all eternity is the keystone sentence of the ceremony. The bonds, then, of these plural families are true, virtuous, eternal; welded by power given of heaven, and what 'God hath joined together let no man put asunder.' It has been offered to this people to permit, without further molestation, all those plural family relations which had been formed up to a certain date if valid promises would be given that all further relations of this kind would cease. This is generous from one standpoint, but the grounded and fixed faith in the divinity of the origin of the commandment—the blessings and powers expected as results in future eternal existence are of such a nature that every mother who is willing to grant the privilege to her husband will be anxious for the same blessings to descend to her sons and daughters.

"Our faith and confidence in the chastity and pure motives of our husbands, fathers, mothers and sons are such that we challenge the production of a better system of marriage and the records of more moral or purer lives. Hand in hand with celestial marriage is the elevation of woman. In church she votes equally with men, and politically she has the suffrage raising her from the old common law, monogamic serfdom, to political equality with men. Rights of property are given her so that she, as a married woman, can hold property in her own individual right. Women are not thrown off in old age as has been most untruthfully and shamefully asserted. There is nothing in our plural marriage system that countenances any such thing. The very nature of the covenant forbids it. It is binding through all time and lasts throughout eternity. If any woman at an advanced period of her life wishes in a measure to, retire from her husband's society with his consent, this is her own individual privilege with which no one has the right to interfere. Instances of wrong-doing may be found in families of plural households, but the exceptions are not the rule; the weight of good results of the *majority* should be the standard of judgment. It cannot be true, as asserted, that plural marriage is entered into as a rule from sensual motives. It is self-evident that it is not the case with the women, and it is unreasonable to suppose that men would bring upon themselves the responsibilities, cares and expenses of a plural family, when they could avoid all this, yet revel in sin, and, in the language of a distinguished man of the world, 'be like the rest of us.'

"The Supreme Court, in the Cannon case, declared that the Edmunds law was not designed to pry into the secrets of the marriage chamber. What exhibition of despotism can be more absolute than the compelling of the legal wife to testify without her husband's consent against him. In Utah courts, the construction of the law is of such a chamelon-like nature that the people are fain to believe they live in a world of chaos. It is changed with every different case. It has also been shamefully perverted. Chaste and honorable women have been taken alone into a room with fifteen men and been baited and badgered by prosecuting officers and forced, on pain of imprisonment, to answer the most insulting and indecent questions concerning their personal condition, their expected maternity, and their private relations with their husbands. Children of tender years have been snatched from the pure home circle and plied with questions concerning their father's marital relations quite beyond their years, until they tremble with open-eyed wonder. Thus the sanctity of home is desecrated and the secrets of the marriage chamber are dragged into publicity by those who pretend they wish to preserve the home and promote the integrity of the family relation. Some noble women, rather than reply to these improper questions, have submitted to imprisonment under the most trying circumstances. One became a mother within a few days after leaving the penitentiary; another was imprisoned with a babe in her arms; another with a babe at the breast, passing months under the same roof with the most degraded felons.

"We do not believe that with all the prejudice, mostly formed by misrepresentation of enemies, that the interpretations and administration of the laws as carried on in Utah would, if understood, be approved or sustained, except by a small minority of the fifty millions of people of this republic. We will not yet believe that justice and equity for want of a resting place have forsaken this glorious land. Therefore, we, the women of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, once more make a plain confession of our faith and principles—of convictions formed by the unfettered conversion of conscience that we do firmly believe in the divine origin and the eternal benefits of celestial marriage—that this system conduces to the elevation and independence of women—that the men of this faith who are guided by the spirit of the Gospel have the highest regard for virtue and morality—are the most to be trusted and the most loyal citizens of any men who live upon the earth. We believe the interest and welfare of this nation demands a fair test of this principle of marriage if sufficient proofs are not already on record before the people.

"Therefore, in the name of justice, equity and conscience we protest against special legislation which inhibits the conduct of our lives according to our best judgment for this life and most especially for the future, when our domestic relations do no injury to those who do not agree with our system. We appeal to the honest-hearted of this nation, from President Cleveland to the least one who will raise a voice against oppression, to use their influence as the constituencies of Congressmen and demand a stay in the proceedings against this people, and suggest that the time would be better employed by the legislators of the nation in making laws for the purifying of their own environments. And also suggest that Utah has attained her majority and is capable and willing to do her own work, earning her own living and paying her own bills, and ready to assume the dignity of Statehood and take her place in the galaxy upon our noble flag of stars and stripes."

An address in verse, composed by Mrs. Reba Pratt, was then read by Miss Nellie Colebrook:

ADDRESS,

WRITTEN FOR THE LADIES' MASS MEETING, MARCH 6, 1886.

Dear Sisters: I cannot meet with you to-day,
But some thoughts of my mind you shall hear;
Though, if I should write all I'm prompted to say,
The cry would be "treason" I fear;
For the feelings that fill me, at this trying hour,
Are like storm clouds that long have been gathering power.

There's a limit beyond which 'tis hard to forbear,
When by injustice we are oppressed,
We to-day seek relief by remonstrance and prayer,
And against our oppression protest;
And although every ruler may turn a deaf ear,
There is One who our humblest petitions will hear.

'Tis said that the Lord is now trying His own,
That true Saints from false we can tell;
That even may be, but quite plainly 'tis shown,
He is testing the nation as well;
Proving whether law-makers and those who fulfill
Will use the power o'er us for good or for ill.

Already the intent of some has been shown,
Who hold legal authority here,
And most bitter proof of their object is known,
By the scenes which now daily appear;
In which justice and liberty no part can claim,
Where a trial is mockery and law but a name.

Oh! who shall find blame if each true woman's voice
In the heat of resentment shall call
For justice—for those o'er whom tyrants rejoice,
Now confined by the prison's dark wall.
When the victims are husbands and friends we love best,
'Tis time that the sisters should make a protest.

How unjust is the law by which they compel
A wife 'gainst her husband to speak,

And such things divulge to the jury and court,
  As were asked in the court room last week!
Can you wonder my feelings resentment have shown,
When the sister insulted was truly my own!

We firmly against wicked laws shall protest,
  Which take away every dear right,
That will sever home ties of those we love best,
  And force those we love from our sight.
Would that the voices which respond to this call
Could be heard by the Senate in national hall.

We appeal to the nation—to you who make laws,
  The course of our Church to review,
Read the fate of our enemies—then as you pause,
  Think of what you are trying to do.
For as sure as you follow the way they have trod,
So surely you fall 'neath the vengeance of God!

The reading was warmly applauded.

The choir, led by Professor Beesley, rendered, for the first time, "The Battle Hymn of Israel;" words by Orson F. Whitney; music by George Careless.

THE BATTLE HYMN OF ISRAEL.

Dark the battle clouds are closing
  Round the chosen ranks of God;
Mighty ones, their courage losing,
  Kneel and kiss the tyrant's rod.
Sons of Israel—heirs of glory!
  Is it now ye quake and quail?
Read again your lineal story—
  Die ye may, but dare not fail.

Prayers of millions, watching, waiting,
  Nerve your battle-wearied arms;
Powers eternal, o'er us fighting,
  Quell the foemen's worst alarms.
Onward, sons of Faith, nor falter
  With the glorious goal in view!
Tho' your life-blood dyes the altar—
  What are life and death to you?

He that loves his life shall lose it;
  They that sacrifice shall find.
What is mammon, ye should choose it—
  Chaff that whirls before the wind!
Fetters—dungeons—shall they frighten
  Men whom demons must obey?
Walls shall burst, and shackles brighten
  Into sceptres at that day.

Hark! the trumpet. Heroes, rally!
  'Tis the war-cry of the free;
Lo! they swarm from hill and valley—
  Loyal sons of Liberty.
See! they raise the starry standard,
  Long by traitors trampled low—
Freedom chained and Virtue slandered!
  Now they fall upon the foe.

As the melting snow, mad pouring
  Down the mountain side they flee,
Fire from heaven their ranks devouring—
  Shout! for God and victory.
Lo! from out the clouds descending,
  Now the conquering host appears—
King Immanuel, earthward wending,
  Here to reign a thousand years!

DR. ELLIS R. SHIPP

Then addressed the meeting:

"*Sisters and Friends:*

"We consider that in our case patience and endurance have ceased to be a virtue, and we cannot longer restrain our feelings of wounded dignity and subdued indignation, when all that is held dear to us is trampled upon and our most sacred rights and privileges withheld from us. Our fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, and, indeed, many of our honored and respected sisters are exiled from their homes and forced to flee from the minions of the law.

"Those whom we love and honor, and who respect and honor us, are imprisoned, obliged to share the cells of vile and wicked men, and even to wear the badges of shame and infamy. And for what? Are we an unchaste or an immoral people? Do we sanction wickedness and crimes? Or is it because those who are bound to us by holy and tender ties have committed any heinous offense that such indignities should be imposed? No; but regardless of consequences, we have dared to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences.

"And this is our grievous offense. A certain tenet of our religious faith our opponents cannot countenance, because so contrary to their own sinful practices. The evil results of these practices we have personally observed, particularly in the hospitals of the world, where fallen women seek the shelter they cannot obtain from those who should have protected them instead of throwing them and their offspring upon the mercies of a cold, unfeeling world. By consulting the national statistics, we find New York with thirty thousand women leading lives of prostitution; Chicago twenty thousand; Boston and Cincinnati each ten thousand, and other cities with a like ratio according to the number of inhabitants.

"Unfortunately, a record of the opposite sex is not kept.

"We are accused of being down-trodden and oppressed. *We deny the charge!* for we know there cannot be found a class of women upon the earth who occupy a more elevated position in the hearts of their husbands, or whose most delicate and refined feelings are so respected as here in Utah.

"True we practice plural marriage, not, however, because we are compelled to, but because we are convinced that it is a divine revelation, and we find in this principle satisfaction, contentment and more happiness than we can obtain in any other relationship.

"Let our works speak for us. We are a temperate, God-fearing, law-abiding people. We consider virtue and chastity the crowning ornaments of woman's character. Our ladies are educated and refined, and their lives are constantly characterized by acts of nobility, fortitude and usefulness.

"We protest and must insist, that should the bills now pending in Congress become law it will be as unjust as it is uncalled for.

"How strange that the rulers of this nation should overlook the glaring and palpable evils that so thickly beset themselves and traverse thousands of miles in order to stigmatize a small handful of inoffensive people called 'Mormons,' who have already been driven to a desert land where it was supposed they would soon perish and die from starvation and exposure!

"For a few years we were unmolested; our oppressors were almost oblivious of our existence until we had surrounded ourselves with comfortable and beautiful homes, redeemed the soil and made this barren region to bloom as a vast and fertile garden. And then again they wage this persecution with relentless hand, when all we desire is to be left alone, to live in peace, and to worship our God as seemeth to us best; and willingly do we accord the same unbounded privileges to all creeds and nations.

"'To err is human, to forgive divine.' We forgive and pity our enemies, realizing that God and one man are a great majority; and that the Latter-day Saints will ultimately prevail and triumph over the opposition of the whole world."

MRS. LAURA HYDE MINER

Was the next speaker:

"We have met to protest against the indignities and insults that are heaped upon the women of Utah at the present time, and to insist on our right to arrange our domestic affairs according to our own consciences.

"The great head of the nation has said, the welfare of a country was centered in the homes of the land, where the husband and the pure monogamous wife ruled their children in love. Can he lay claim to such a home, a wife and children, heirs to a father's fame and a mother's virtue? Are the priests and sisterhoods of the Roman Catholic church, bound to celibacy by the strictest vows, doing their duty to their country according to that standpoint?

"Yet who would dream of Congress legislating away the bachelor's freedom or forcing priest or nun to sacreligious marriage.

"Another illogical point in our treatment is, all women are disfranchised who are living with a polygamist, the legal wife as well as the others, for our law-makers hold that if she lives with him to whom she was married for better or for worse, she is equally guilty. Yet a learned judge has lately dragged a legal wife into court to testify in a case against her husband, holding that the wrong was against her, so she was a competent witness and must testify, or be adjudged guilty of contempt. The law-making branch has taken from us the right of suffrage, whereby we might have asserted ourselves at the ballot and righted our wrongs, if we had any, and now the law-enforcing side has taken us in hand and robbed us of sweet and marital confidence. We must be traitors to ourselves (for we are one with the men whose names we bear) or be lodged in prison and be subjected to insult.

"The law now pending in Congress proposes to disorganize our institutions and apply the surplus means to other purposes than the people intended. Are the religious bodies of these United States prepared for such a precedent?

"We are not only pleading, protesting and suffering for our own liberty, but for the future freedom of every citizen of this country.

"What laws are made for the benefit of the whole nation, we are willing to abide by or bear the penalty of their infringement without complaint, for we know that God is able and willing to reward His servants.

"Now we wish to bear our testimony to those that are arraying wives and children against their husbands and fathers, that 'with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.'"

DR. ELVIRA S. BARNEY

Spoke as follows:

"It is said we live in a free country, for which our fathers fought and bled, where is enjoyed free speech, a free press and a right to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences. Not so; rumor has falsely spoken. Utah is the exception. Her history has not been read; it has lain a closed book to the mass of the world, and to the fifty-five millions of people of the United States. Not a tithe of that number has ever heard of the peaceable, industrious, moral and God-fearing people that live in the little Territory of Utah, called Latter-day Saints. Yet some few politicians, eager for pelf, stigmatize us as a people, and say we are a 'blot' on the body politic, and that fifty-five million people are opposed to us. That is a fallacy. There are some who are like the story of a Quaker with a dog. He says, 'I would not hurt thee, but I'll give thee a bad name.' So he turned him loose and cried, 'mad dog! mad dog!'

"O that my voice could reach the ears of those uninformed and misinformed of the United States, I would ask them to listen to the testimony of the ten thousand wives and mothers of Utah, with large, intelligent, loving families of beautiful, pure children, free from blemish, and ask them to take the statistics of their own cities, filled with vice, and their children tainted with loathsome disease from their birth, and then they may be able to see the 'blot,' and in whose eyes is the beam, and in whose the mote. Say they, 'but you have a bad name.' That may be; so did Jesus, who was crucified between two thieves, but He was, and is still the Son of God, and it is Christ crucified that we worship, and the pattern he set we follow; the Gospel He taught, that the Latter-day Saint Elders teach; and for which they are martyred, and their people oppressed, and that holy book the world call the Bible, the Latter-day Saints believe in, practice and preach from Genesis to Revelations. Now for this the wise men of the land are like Haman, are building a gallows for Mordecai, and like him, so they will meet their doom, for we know that God has spoken in these last days; His voice has been heard, we have witnesses to this and living testimonies unimpeachable. But, says the infidel, I don't believe in God or the Bible; a pitiable condition. I look upon such as unfinished material.

"Should a nation fold her arms and sleep, or a mother unheed the cries of her child that appeals to her in distress, or can we say we have a father when he turns a deaf ear to our call? Have we not appealed and protested against oppression to the higher courts of the land, and asked them to investigate our cause and see if we were disobedient children? What was the response? The waste basket received the protest unanswered.

"Our lessons we have well learned; Utah stands at the head of her class, although Uncle Sam is not there to call the roll and give her credit due. She is, under the patriarchal order, rearing her sons and daughters, that are tall, and will be the tallest of the class; like unto Saul, 'head and shoulders above the rest of the people,' both physically, morally and mentally. Future years will echo these truths.

"Does it matter if the Lord sees fit for His people to build an ark, or to pass through the Red Sea, or to place a Jesus among the Jews for them to crucify, or a Latter-day Saint to be nicknamed 'Mormon,' called bad names, vilified, men and women insulted before the courts, their children called bastards? Men are imprisoned only because they will not disown their wives, and if they dare say they believe in God, and intend to carry out his law, they must be sent to the penitentiary. Dare I say I believe? Yes, I will say more. I know that God has spoken from the heavens, and that he has called and chosen his sons and daughters to carry out his law. Suppose it be at the sacrifice of liberty, or even life; after the sacrifice comes the reward, and we can afford to wait the recompense of the Almighty. There is no righteous judgment for a Latter-day Saint in our courts here in Utah.

"In the song of the 'Pauper's Last Ride.' The chorus is:

"Drive fast his bones, over the stones,
For he is a pauper whom nobody owns."

"But the chorus of the last verse is:

"Drive gently his bones, over the stones,
For he is a pauper whom his *Father* yet owns."

"Courts and jurors need not think for one moment that they will not be held accountable to God for this last ride that some of the Saints have taken through the sickness and distress brought upon them by this oppression.

"The people, nation or individuals, men or women, who sanction this oppression and abuse by their silence, and do not use their influence against it as far as lies in their power, will have to bear the responsibility of it, and share the disgrace of a 'blot' that will eternally stand upon the boasted government of the United States.

"There are a few whole-souled men and women in the world that have nobly spoken in our defense, that I would not fail to make mention of, and ask God to remember and show mercy to in the day of His judgments, which He has declared were about to be poured out upon the nation.

"We do and have asked for nothing but our rights under the government. We ask for just laws to be made. We ask to peaceably occupy our homes that we ourselves have made, in which we intend to stay. We ask the same right under government that our sister States and Territories enjoy.

"Our history's pages are filled with the records of the vilest and most disreputable men that have sought office and obtained it at the hand of government. They have come here and abused the offices and insulted the people they ruled over. Our courts' records tell the stubborn facts and do not lie.

"While we honor the names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and the framers of the grand old Constitution, we cannot fail to see the undermining power that is sapping the vitals, the life and the essence of our government and honeycombing the entire fabric, and will leave it in the near future a tottering structure, which will disgrace the land that gave it birth.

"Why should a nation cry mad dog! mad dog! when her capital cities are filled with such infamy and crime? Instead, they had better borrow some of the examples of purity and virtue of their polygamous sisters. They are learning the lessons that will give them long life, peace and happiness, that kings and queens might be proud to possess; and their examples are towering heavenward, from which source they look for the response that God has promised—the bursting of their fetters, the conquering of their foes, and a final millenial reign."

MRS. JENNIE TANNER

Next addressed the assembly:

"*Sisters and Friends:*

"In responding to the invitation of your committee to address you, I should feel very modest in doing so, were it not that I, with you, feel that we have common grievances to consider, and common wrongs to repel. We have met here to-day *en masse* to earnestly protest against the indignities that have recently been heaped upon members of our sex by the courts and Federal officers and would-be political autocrats of this Territory. Persons who, while professing to represent the most liberal and humane government on the earth, are really votaries of proscription and political disfranchisement.

"These accusations are not mere statements void of truth. To prove their genuineness, 'let facts be submitted to a candid world.' Our mothers and sisters are dragged into court and asked the most indecent questions; in many cases separated from their families. Homes broken up and inmates scattered. Our fathers and brothers cast into prison or exiled. And for what? For obeying God-given principles; laws revealed from heaven. It is manifest that God has never given any commandments to His children which He did not design as a blessing to those who would heed and obey the same; while, on the other hand, the converse to such as should reject or treat lightly His holy commandments. We find by reading the sacred book called the Bible that God commanded Adam and Eve to multiply and replenish the earth; this commandment evidently was intended as much for Eve as Adam. Hence, holy women of old, to whom God administered by sending angels to them or appearing Himself, were anxious for posterity, and in some instances, as we find recorded in sacred writ, where women that had husbands failed to have children, gave their handmaids to their husbands to be their wives—for instance, Sarah gave her handmaid Hagar to Abraham to be his wife. After this we find that the Lord blessed Sarah in her old age and gave her a son, from whom was descended Jesus of Nazareth, the veritable Son of God.

"The Lord had a hand in all this—the Lord talked with Abraham face to face and he did nothing except what the Lord commanded him to do. Jacob was the name of his grandson, a very obedient child to his parents, as well as to his heavenly Father. He was first married to his cousin Leah, then Rachel, and after this their handmaids, who were given to Jacob by their mistresses in order to enlarge their families, and through the sacrifice made by Rachel she herself became fruitful and bore children to her husband, and the children by these four wives were the twelve patriarchs whose names are to be written on the gates of the holy Jerusalem which is to descend out of heaven. We also find by reading the first book of Samuel, chapter first, that the great Prophet Samuel was the son of Elkanah, who had two wives, Penninah and Hannah. Hannah had no children, on account of which she was very sorrowful and wept much. She repaired to the temple on a certain day and sought her God in prayer. There she met with Eli, the priest; after learning that she had been offering up a petition, he promised her that it should be granted. Thus we find that God not only sanctioned polygamy, but greatly blessed in every way men and women who entered into these principles. The Apostle Paul mentions men and women of great faith that were in polygamy, and that they obtained a good report on account of their faith.

"I am free to state that this work is genuine, sanctioned and authorized by God, the omnipotent Father; that the principle of celestial marriage is an integral part of the faith of the Latter-day Saints. Nor do I say this because my parents advocated and obeyed this principle, but because I have an abiding knowledge within myself of its truthfulness. In the light of these facts, then, and in view of the truth that in this Territory there is a ruthless disregard for the local rights of the people (rights inestimable to themselves and 'formidable to tyrants only),' I, for one, as a consistent daughter of Utah, anxious to protect the rights and privileges of my sex, deem it my duty to join with you in repudiating the accusations against us, and the injustice and extreme measures of the courts and Federal officers of this Territory."

Mrs. Clayton read the following address by

MRS. JULIA CRUSE HOWE:

"*Mrs. President and Friends:*

"In contemplating the position we as a people occupy at the present time, politically, socially, morally and religiously, attracting as we do the attention not only of this great nation, but the nations of the earth: misrepresented, maligned and despised as we are, I feel that as a woman and a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints I am proud, and would not exchange my position with any queen or empress.

"True, we are passing through persecution. Our noble husbands and sons are imprisoned, as Christ said they would be. Their affectionate wives and children are left without their protection, subjected to insult and derision by their inquisitors, and many left without means of sustenance—not however to the cold charities of the world, for, as a people, if one suffers, all suffer; and, thanks to our heavenly Father, who causes His sun to shine on the evil as well as the good, there is enough for all, and it will prove us as a people, whether or not we love our neighbor as ourselves. The young who might have been deceived in believing the object of our religious persecutors to be the correcting of their morals are thoroughly convinced to the contrary through their lying and misrepresentations. How we honor and admire our noble sires and husbands for their integrity. They gave us the right of franchise that our now would-be reformers would deprive us of. We are called the down-trodden women of Utah, but we know that the liberty and privileges we enjoy will compare favorably with those of any other people on the face of the earth.

"I am forcibly reminded of the words of the Prophet Isaiah: 'Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter; who justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him, therefore, as the fire devoureth the stubble and the flame consumeth the chaff, their root shall be rottenness and their blossoms shall go up as dust; because they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.' I am sorry for the rulers of this nation, that they should allow themselves to be blinded by the prejudice and misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who are hungering and lusting after the pleasant homes and property of the law-abiding, God-fearing people of this community. But they are fulfilling the prophecies of our beloved Prophet Joseph Smith. We are accused of breaking the law of the land. But the Latter-day Saints break no truly constitutional law.

"We believe the Constitution of the United States was framed by inspiration from God, and there is no tenet of our faith that comes in conflict with it. I am sorry for this nation because they are fighting against high heaven, and I pray that their eyes may be opened to this fact before it is too late."

At this point in the proceedings, the president announced that the time was so far spent it was deemed advisable to bring the meeting to a close. There were still a number of speeches to be delivered, and it was a matter of regret that time would not permit them to be given, but these, the president said, would be printed, together with communicated sentiments from ladies in different parts of the Territory.

On motion of Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball, the sense of the meeting was taken as to the propriety of memorializing the President and Congress of the United States, and it was unanimously decided that a committee be appointed to prepare the memorial and have it forwarded to Washington.

The following named ladies were accordingly appointed and unanimously sustained as the committee on memorial: Sarah M. Kimball, Elmina S. Taylor, Romania B. Pratt, M.

Isabella Horne, and Emily Richards, of Salt Lake City; Jane S. Richards, of Ogden; Mary John, of Provo; Mary Pitchforth, of Nephi; H. C. Brown, of Ogden; Ida Ione Cook, of Logan; Agnes Douglas and Ida Coombs, of Payson.

The nominations having been ratified, the meeting was adjourned *sine die*.

The choir rendered the part song—

"The Might with the Right,"

And the chaplain dismissed the assembly by benediction.

The day's proceedings were of unusual interest. The speeches were warmly applauded throughout, and the noble and patriotic sentiments expressed were such as found an echo in the hearts of all present, who were lovers of liberty, truth, justice, home and country.

ADDITIONAL SPEECHES.

FOLLOWING are the speeches that were prepared for the mass meeting but were not delivered, owing to lack of time, as already explained:

MRS. HELEN MAR WHITNEY.

"*Mrs. President and Ladies:*

"This is a momentous occasion, and the subject which has brought us together would fill volumes were it written. It is our right and our duty to represent our cause, and give the people of the world to understand that 'Mormon' women are neither slaves nor toys. Though comparatively isolated, we are not so ignorant of matters pertaining to the women of the world as they appear to be concerning us, and this religion called 'Mormonism'—a religion which we have espoused and cling to because we love its principles, which require all to live godly in Christ Jesus and keep themselves pure and unspotted from the world.

"I have been a member of this Church for forty-nine years, and am one of the women who have been tried and tested, and the angels will bear witness that to-day, I am a stronger advocate of 'Mormonism' and the celestial order of marriage, and rejoice more exceedingly in the goodness of God to me and my house, than ever before. I know that this holy order would prove a blessing to all who would receive and practice it in the way that He designed. I received this knowledge years ago, and it is not in the power of man to alter my belief, and no one but myself is responsible for my actions. Whatever has appeared over my signature, has been written independently of any other person. Liberty is necessary to make life endurable, and if I have ever been deprived of that boon under the laws and government of God's kingdom, I have remained in blissful ignorance to this day, and can say, as God is my witness, it is this Gospel that has made me free.

"The women of Israel are aspirants after all that is grand and glorious within their reach. They are laboring for the highest glory of womanhood, which can only be attained through the untiring, energetic, pure and holy efforts of those who are willing to fight the good fight, and make the sacrifice of self and the ease and pleasures of the moment. It was among the grand designs of the Gods that woman should be equal with man. At the beginning it was her destiny to be first to partake of the tree of knowledge, and though it brought the fall it was a blessing in disguise. Adam and Eve sinned that 'man might be.' The privilege is now offered to His daughters to throw off the shackles and free themselves from the curse which was placed upon them for a wise purpose. The debt she has paid, and it is the plan of the Almighty to make of His noble daughters queens instead of serfs, that woman may reign in the sphere for which she was created. The celestial order of marriage was introduced for this purpose, and God commanded His servants to enter into that holy order preparatory to the day, which is at our doors, when noble and virtuous women, now blinded by prejudice and priestcraft, will be glad to unite themselves to men equally noble and pure—such as are now willing to suffer imprisonment and endure whatever punishment their tormentors may inflict, rather than forsake the wives that God has given them, and dishonor their offspring, which they know would deprive them of their crown.

"The soul-destroying crimes that are fostered in the midst of Christian civilization, are breaking more hearts and causing them to put an end to their dreary and wretched existence, than all the alleged heart-burnings endured by plural wives in Utah. Infanticide is not known among us; it is murder; it is also in direct disobedience to the Almighty's first behest. Did He not command His children to be fruitful and replenish the earth? The noblest men and women, anciently, the most highly favored of God, were the founders on this earth of the patriarchal order of marriage. Our Savior, and all the sons of Israel sprang from it—the twelve tribes chosen of God. It was said, too, that 'a bastard should not enter into the congregation of Jehovah, even to his tenth generation.'

"Our pious Christian friends evidently ignore these facts, and are striving independently of scripture, reason or the dictates of humanity, to solve the so-called 'Mormon problem.' Our women and children are being harrassed by day and by night. They are brought before courts and grand juries and shamefully insulted, and are compelled, under threats of imprisonment, to answer indecent questions, questions which no man with a spark of chivalry or purity of mind would be guilty of asking. To cap the climax of tyranny and cruelty, the first wife must now be made to testify against her husband, and thus our brethren are herded into their filthy prison-pen, like sheep going to the slaughter. These, we suppose, are among the charitable acts of sisterly love which some of the Christian ladies of Utah have lent their assistance in promoting. We look upon them with pity, and upon all who tamely submit to become the tools and implements of the evil one.

"From childhood I have loved this land of liberty, and prided myself in the knowledge that I was descended from those who helped to gain the independence of my country, which they called a refuge for the oppressed of all nations, where all could enjoy the privilege of worshiping God according to the dictates of their own consciences. But what a sham it has become in the hands of religious bigots and godless politicians who have borne rule for the past fifty years.

"Could those who look down upon plural wives and cast a stigma upon them and their offspring realize the lamentable and degraded condition of many women in the world, *veritable slaves* who dare not express their feelings for fear of the lash of 'public opinion,' they might change their minds respecting 'Mormon' women, who are anything but dupes or slaves. The women who have come out to this meeting and the thousands whom they represent, could not be kept in subjection to an influence that would make them slaves instead of free women. Our only tyrants have been those sent here by the government, who were not the choice of the people, but whose every interest has been foreign to our own. We have learned this lesson well, that we need not look for justice from them, nor for mercy from men whose hearts are adamant. Men, or creatures in human form, who insult and tyrannize over helpless women and children, seeking to goad us to desperation and drive our people to commit some overt act that will furnish them an excuse to place the yoke of bondage upon our necks. They know in their hearts that their accusations against this people are false, and that they themselves stand guilty before God and man of the iniquities they seek to lay at our doors.

"The daughters of Zion must awake. We must become active workers like our beloved and honored mothers, that our hope of glory may not pass like a night vision. We must struggle for our rights, inch by inch, and it will require all the strength and courage that can be mustered to stand unmoved against the pressure that is coming upon us from the wicked within and without, who are combined to rob and oppress us and bring us under their feet. But the women of God will maintain their integrity and face prisons or even death itself rather than yield up one principle of their religion.

"We are told that there are fifty millions of people against us. Be that as it may, there are thousands whose hearts would bleed could they know the truth concerning us, and the wicked outrages that have been and are being perpetrated upon us without just cause or provocation. Our path is thorny; and the heavy clouds bespeak a tempest upon our devoted heads. But we will proclaim our innocence, protest against wrong, and pray for our enemies as we have been commanded to do, that God may be merciful unto them and open their eyes before the terrors of His retribution burst upon them. God is our shield and our buckler, and He will give us grace to endure, and like truth, to 'weather the worst, eternal, unchanged evermore!'"

MRS. ELIZABETH HOWARD.

"*Mrs. President and Ladies:*

"The persecutions and wrongs we are undergoing at the present time take away any pleasure I might otherwise feel in standing before so vast an assemblage this afternoon. We have been silent too long; yet the nation and its rulers have had plenty of opportunities of hearing and knowing our side of the story.

"I have heard that when a prominent gentleman in the State of Illinois visited the 'Mormon city,' and saw the thrift, the peaceful, sober, industrious habits of the people, he asked the Prophet Joseph how he governed them? The Prophet replied: 'I don't govern them. I teach them true and correct principles and they govern themselves.'

"It may be asked, who are these ladies occupying the chairs on this stage to-day? They are women who have educated themselves in self-government; they are the brave, honorable wives of some of the noblest men of this land, or indeed any other on the face of this earth. They are wives who have decided to keep God's laws, and who, by unhallowed, unjust legislation are now left without a protector or provider for themselves or children; whose loving, devoted husbands have been torn from their homes, cast into a vile prison for having made them partakers of their joys and sorrows, given them in all honor, respect and love, their names; made them happy, comfortable homes; given them an opportunity of developing every characteristic of their noble womanhood in rearing their sons and daughters to become virtuous and law-abiding citizens of our great country. These faithful women have obeyed true principles; they are happy and contented; they know they are doing right in the sight of God; they are not fearing very much what man can do. They are ever willing to take up their cross. They expect to be evilly spoken of by the ignorant, and those who know not God. These ladies know Him and they know they are keeping His laws, and intend doing so. These women are an example in virtue, purity and fidelity to the marriage vow, to all the women of this nation or any other nation.

"Talk of integrity; it is here almost personified. There are ladies on this stage to-day who have been cast into prison and chose to remain there before they would speak one word that would condemn the men they loved, honored and respected. They are bound to them by all the ties of nature and by all the sacred covenants of their religion.

"These women interfere with the rights of no one. They are refined and intelligent. They love each other and their husbands with a love that is pure and undefiled, a love that is stronger than the ties of blood. They love each other's children and the children love them. They are women that any nation should be proud of; they should be held in respect and honor and encouraged by every means in the power of the government as the mothers of virtuous, healthy, honest sons and daughters, wherein lie the wealth and power of a nation. These women and mothers teach their sons correct and true principles; sons who show to the world by the consistency of their lives that they are the peers of any young men in all the land. The majority of them are full of honor, integrity and virtue; their word is as good as their bond; they will die before they will compromise or surrender a single principle of their religion; and they will live to keep all the commandments of God. I say all honor and praise to the women who are living in celestial marriage. May God bless them forever."

MRS. SARAH D. RICH.

"*To the Women of Utah, greeting:*

"My advanced age prevents me from meeting with my sisters, the women of Utah, who assemble to-day to publicly express their disapprobation of the course being pursued by the officials of United States courts of this Territoy in their persecution of the Latter-day Saints. But I wish to join with my sisters in protesting against the indignities and insults which have been heaped upon members of our sex by those who have been clothed with a little brief authority, and have used that authority to harrass and insult those they should protect.

"I am a descendent of men who imperiled their lives and fought in the revolutionary war. My ancestors helped to obtain those inestimable rights guaranteed by the Constitution—a God-given, God-inspired instrument. I claim the right to worship Him according to the dictates of my own conscience—a right guaranteed by that Constitution obtained by the sufferings and heroism of my ancestors. This right, sacred and inalienable by the express terms of the Constitution, has been denied and taken away from the people of Utah by vicious and corrupt legislation, and I, in common with my sex, the women of Utah, protest against the cruel wrong.

"I also wish to express my indignation and earnest protest against the indecent, indelicate and uncalled for questions—questions which would bring a blush of shame to the cheek of all but the shameless—which honest, virtuous, modest wives, mothers and daughters have been compelled to answer before the grand jury. I wish to add my voice in crying shame on the man, himself a husband and father, who, in his capacity of prosecuting attorney, degrades his manhood by asking such questions of women who are the peers of any in the world. I honor those noble, brave men who, rather than disavow their belief in a God-given law, or deny their wives and children, have gone into prison and chose suffering and punishment rather than the approbation and 'leniency' of an unjust judge. I sympathize deeply with those wives and mothers who, through the operations of an unjust law, have been deprived of the society and support of their natural protectors. I can only say God speed your efforts to stem the flood of sectarian hate and judicial wrong now being poured out upon the oppressed people of Utah."

MRS. M. E. TEASDALE.

"I desire to raise my voice in defense of my religion and protest against the unlawful measures that have been and are being adopted to rob the Latter-day Saints of their rights. It seems to be the opinion of some officials that 'Mormons' have no rights that ought to be respected; but we have rights that we prize and do not intend to have them taken from us without protesting. 'Mormon' women have rights that they have exercised intelligently for years, prominent among which is the elective franchise that was thought by some, if given to the women, would be the death blow to polygamy; but because we vote for our friends instead of our enemies we are branded as slaves to the Priesthood, and it is falsely said that we do not vote as we please but as we are compelled by our husbands.

"I assert that we do vote as we please, and our husbands nor any one else know how we vote or for whom, unless we choose to tell them. We know who are our friends and we have the good sense to vote for them instead of our enemies. Congress has already deprived several thousands of our people of the franchise, without proving them guilty of any crime, and now they want to rob thousands more, 'Mormon' and Gentile, without even a suspicion of their guilt. How unjust! How unlawful!

"We claim that the new Edmunds bill is unconstitutional, cruel and outrageous, and we protest against its being passed. It is outrageous for Congress to appoint fourteen trustees to handle our property and to say what shall be done with our means that we give as free will offerings to build up the kingdom of God. Have I not a right to spend the means I have honestly earned as I think proper, and if I choose to give away one-tenth, or even the whole of my possessions, whose business is it? Who has a right to say that I shall not do so? No person on earth; but there is One in heaven who has this right. God, who has given us all we possess, has commanded us to give one-tenth of our means to assist in establishing His kingdom on the earth. There is a promise attached to the command that those who tithe themselves shall not be burnt at His coming. If Congress takes our tithing and spends it for something for which it is not intended, they will be robbing God.

"It is cruel to compel wives to testify against their husbands, whether they are the first or plural wives. Plural wives love their husbands as much as first wives do, and their children love their father as much as the children of the first wife. The husband and father reciprocate their affection, and I say it is cruel and inhuman to require men to cast off part of their family and brand them with shame, making the wives who loved and trusted them worse than widows and their children more than orphans.

"Senator Edmunds must be strong-hearted and a stranger to pure affection, or he would not frame laws to break up happy homes and cause untold suffering to fall upon virtuous wives and innocent children.

"It is a shame that honorable wives and mothers are insulted, placed under heavy bonds, and imprisoned among the vilest criminals, for refusing to answer improper questions that a true gentleman would be ashamed to ask.

"At present, families are scattered, affectionate husbands and fathers are separated from loving wives and children and cast into prison for the awful crime of loving and providing for more than one woman and their children 'in the marriage relation;' while those who seduce their sister-in-law and cast them and their offspring away to starve and die, are allowed to go unpunished and have the liberty to continue practising their fiendish crimes. Men who would rather suffer a thousand deaths than break the covenants they have made with their wives and their God in sacred places, and who have never broken any constitutional law of the land, are told by the court that they are not good citizens, and they have to take abuse and insults from judges who do not understand our religion or the motives that prompt men and women to practise the principle of plural marriage. Men are not punished as much for what they have done as for what they will not promise to do in the future.

"Latter-day Saints can not make promises to obey man's laws if they conflict with the covenants they have made with God to keep His laws, for we acknowledge the laws of God to be superior to the laws of man. We know that God lives and that He has spoken from the heavens, and restored the true Gospel with all its gifts and blessings, and we know that He has commanded us 'Mormons,' so-called, to practice plural marriage. All true Saints have obtained this knowledge for themselves from God, and we know we are not deceived. This is the reason we practice plural marriage, and not, as is supposed by the world, to gratify the passions. This is the reason we stand scoffs and ridicule, bonds, imprisonment and death we know that our religion is true and that if we lose our life for the Gospel's sake we will find eternal lives in the kingdom of God. Our homes were happy ones before this cruel crusade was urged against us. We were satisfied and happy with the husbands of our choice, and with our children, whom we prize as precious gifts from God. We will not give up one principle of our religion, but will keep the laws of God and sustain and encourage our husbands to do the same, fearless of the consequences; for we are confident that our Father will sanctify all our afflictions unto us, and in his own time will avenge us of all our wrongs and reward us for all that we have suffered."

MRS. MARY ANN PRATT.

"It has become necessary for us, the women of Utah, in the majority, to assert our rights as American citizens; to express our indignation at the attempt made to deprive us of our rights. As intelligent, law-abiding citizens, we do solemnly protest against the taking from us of the right of franchise, no proof having been adduced that we have forfeited it by any act or word. All the women of this Territory are to be included in this wholesale sweep without trial or investigation. This blow comes down upon the widow, the unmarried and the married classes alike, wreaking its injustice upon all. It is thus sought to coerce our actions and make us subscribe in our belief to other people's creeds and opinions.

"We hold firm to our conviction that all the women of this republic should have the right to vote without interference from their fellows. Our agency is the free gift of our Creator. We may be imprisoned, manacled in limb and body, yet the free mind will soar aloft and cannot be shackled. We thank our sisters in the east for the kind part they have taken in behalf of our rights as voters, and we will ever pray for their rights to be granted them. We want their co-operation in the right direction, to maintain that liberty of conscience which some are trying to crush out. Many men and women of the land have been our friends and have expressed themselves publicly against the unlawful procedure of our persecutors. They too have our hearty thanks."

MRS. MARILLA M. DANIELS.

"I, with the women of Utah, do most earnestly protest against Congress legislating to take from us, as loyal citizens of the United States, our constitutional rights; rights guaranteed by our forefathers who fought, bled and laid their all upon the altar that they might bequeath to their children the precious boon of liberty; the right to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences. That right we shall strive to maintain to the best of our ability, without any desire to injure any one, but keep within the pale of peace and justice, allowing all the same privilege that we claim for ourselves.

"We stand on God's footstool free men and women, and will cleave to the principles of the Constitution which gives to all equal rights, no matter of what creed or nationality.

"We cannot but admire the noble men who had the moral courage, in the face of prejudice and popular feeling, to stand up and speak against such rank injustice as the passage of the Edmunds bill now before Congress, a bill calculated to rob us of our social, religious and political rights. One might suppose we had no rights that they were bound to respect; we seem to be in the same position, in their estimation, that the negroes were before their emancipation from slavery. We have been subjected to test oaths, which have deprived many of our citizens of voting or holding office, and now desire to take the franchise from all the women of Utah.

"For what reason? Is it because we are united and vote for the men of our choice rather than those whom we have good reason to believe would oppress us? No doubt they are disappointed because we have not used this privilege to free ourselves from the 'chains' that bound us to this Priesthood or 'hierarchy,' as they are pleased to call it. We are one with our husbands and fathers, and because we thus exercise this right they would deprive us of it altogether.

"We contend and remonstrate against our sisters being disfranchised who have broken no law, and do not come under the ban of the Edmunds law of 1882. They have not forfeited their right to the franchise; they have broken no law to deprive them of it, as they say we have. To reach some of us they were obliged to trample on the Constitution which in Section 9 expressly forbids the passing of a bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law. But why should our sisters be made to suffer with those whom they say have broken the law of 1882?

"We treasure the franchise as a priceless boon, one that we would not barter away for gold, as do many that now hold it among the would-be lords of creation. The inspiration of liberty is born with every true daughter as well as every true son of God, and woman in her sphere has sacrificed as much to maintain it as man. If the suffrage was universally given to woman it could not but result in good. Who has the interest of mankind more at heart than woman? She would vote for good moral men, who would use their influence to protect virtue and denounce vice. The women of Utah have exercised this privilege for over fifteen years, and who can truthfully say it has not been used wisely and with good results? We sincerely thank all the women of the Suffrage Association for the interest, sympathy and influence they have used in our behalf. We desire to maintain this right with all the moral power we possess, trusting in God for wisdom to guide us in this as well as all other duties of life.

"We desire to express our indignation against the insults that are offered to our sisters that are brought before the courts and grand juries and made to answer indecent questions or be fined and imprisoned for contempt. One is righteously indignant to think they will so far forget themselves and so dishonor their manhood as to insult defenseless women and children. Some of our sisters have been brought to untimely graves in consequence of such treatment; delicate and refined women have been made to suffer the keenest torture of mind through their insolence. What would they think if their wives, mothers, sisters or daughters were treated in such a shameful manner? They seem to think they can insult a plural wife with impunity. There is, in their estimation, no law to protect her; she has no rights.

"Senator Edmunds once said that the very nature of every virtuous woman revolted against polygamy and all its influences. There are thousands of my sisters in Utah and elsewhere that will bear me witness that this is not true of 'Mormon polygamy.' I can speak from a practical experience of over forty-one years. Our husbands, the fathers of our children, hold sacred their marriage covenants, and heaven's best blessings are a virtuous husband and good children. My father had born to him fifty-six children in the new and everlasting covenant. Many of them are now married, having families of their own, living in this and the adjoining Territories; and I venture to say they will compare favorably with any in the land for honesty, morality and integrity."

MRS. ZINA Y. WILLIAMS.

"We hold in contempt the narrow and unjust measures that are brought to bear against our religious belief, by those who know us not, or know us to their disadvantage in the comparison.

"What America needs to-day is good mothers, and as good wives and mothers, we solemnly protest against our rights being wrested from us; against the wicked and needless insults heaped upon us by cowards. No true man would lend himself to such dastardly acts even under cover of the law. We desire only the privileges that every true American wife, mother or daughter has a right to expect—that our homes be not invaded, our hearts torn and trampled on.

"Our affections are given to men who are the peers of any men who grace the nation as senators or as presidents. We ask for justice, for a repeal of those laws made to deprive us of all our inherent rights as citizens of this great nation."

MRS. MARY JOHN.

"*Ladies, Friends and Fellow Citizens:*

"I desire to raise my voice in defense of woman suffrage. As an American citizen I feel I have a right to a voice in electing officers of our own choice, and defending all our rights in this land of the west, which I have helped to build up and improve.

"We implore the attention of those who sit in Congress to listen to the petition of women who are scarcely noticed, although women of intelligence and refined feeling, who fully understand their position and their rights; and we also ask the honorable ladies of the American nation to give us their sympathy and aid. Is it fair that we should be deprived of the privilege of casting our votes for those whom we deem best capable of holding office?

"We believe in the right of the American Congress to legislate for the government and the people in all matters pertaining to the duties of citizens in general, in all the obligation of citizens to the government and to each other. We sustain their right to defend the oppressed, the weak and the minority in their sacred rights of freedom from the encroachments of the overwhelming majority who differ from them in political opinions. We believe these rights should be exercised by them for the protection and general welfare of the public. But when they infringe upon the rights of conscience they tread on sacred ground—forbidden ground—rights which no power should interfere with but the powers of heaven.

"Conscience being the gift of God, He will hold its possessors responsible for its exercise, and not any human government. So long as a citizen interferes not with his neighbor in his personal rights to happiness, life and property, we claim that he should have full possession of the rights of conscience, even if he chooses to bow down to false idols. To possess this boon we are willing to sacrifice every earthly comfort, that we may hand down to posterity a free government, free thought and free speech, to all mankind alike, irrespective of politics or religion.

"The indecent questions put to 'Mormon' women, in the Federal courts of this Territory, are an open insult to womankind, and a disgrace to a free republic government, and are more worthy of the twelfth century than of the civilization of the nineteenth. May the women of Utah unite with all the women of the nation in frowning down the introduction of inquisitorial and tyrannical practices in 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.'"

MRS. M. E. KIMBALL.

"My faith is that every honest man, who believes in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, sincerely, and who will become acquainted with our rule of action before forming his opinion, will see that we are not a disgrace to this nation or any other. Our principles are sacred, are perfect, are for the best good of all, as Jesus Christ, our great head, designed they should be.

"'Tis true we are called to make sacrifices, but who ever read Christ's sermon on the mount and could not see this, and know it was for a wise purpose, to bring a reign of peace upon the earth. Remember the words of Christ: 'If the world hate you, even so did they hate me before it hated you.' Yet His teachings and commands are those which enable us to arrive at perfection, and the only ones. It is said that He did not teach plural marriage. No; He did not need to; that was practised for generations before He was born. But where did

He ever speak against it? I fail to find it. He said not one jot or title of the prophecies should fail. For He did not come to destroy the law or the prophets. Accordingly the fourth chapter of Isaiah will come to pass, not in sensuality or in degradation and vice, but in pure love for the cause of God and a reign of peace on the earth. There will be a righteous people on the earth before the second coming of Christ.

"Such a people will strictly obey His laws, that they may obtain His spirit; without this spirit they could not be one with Him. Without it we could not understand His purposes and designs. All have their agency, that all may be left without excuse. Let us be wise and serve the Lord with full purpose of heart, and be true to our convictions."

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Women of Utah in Mass Meeting Assembled:

Dearly beloved Latter-day Saint Sisters:—Although absent in body, I am one with you in faith and spirit and a hearty approval of this movement whereby to give free expression to your sense of the injustice and oppression heaped upon us.

Why should we remain silent when our dearest rights as American citizens are trampled upon, and every vestige of our liberties threatened with annihilation?

ELIZA R. SNOW SMITH.

SPRINGVILLE, UTAH CO., UTAH, MARCH 3, 1886.

Mrs. Mary I. Horne, Salt Lake City:

Dear Sister:—Last evening I received a very kind invitation to be present at the mass meeting to be held in Salt Lake City on Saturday next. Very much appreciating the invitation, for fear I fail to be present, I use my pen to give you a few of my sentiments upon this very important question—woman's suffrage.

Being among those who came here in 1847, I am in a position to know what the ladies of this Church have passed through, and I am at a loss to-day to see any justification for Senator Edmunds in urging such severe measures against a people who have endured and performed so much to bring a barren and waste country to blossom as the rose and flourish as the green bay tree.

The pages of history testify to the fact that women have figured prominently in many of the great reforms.

Deborah, we are told, judged Israel forty years, and there was peace in the land.

Victoria has reigned nearly fifty years over one of the greatest nations under the sun, and who will question her success or ability?

What might Napoleon have been had he cherished and appreciated the prudent counsels of Josephine?

Columbus might have died in despair had not Isabella come to his assistance.

The crescent might have glittered in the sun to-day over the fertile plains of Granada, had not Isabella encouraged her husband Philip to persevere on to conquest, which resulted in making Spain universally Catholic.

Is not Elizabeth classed among the best and wisest of England's queens? Shakespeare was spared many perplexities through her appreciation of his great talent.

What thrilling tales and historical facts could be given did time and space justify it.

In reading Senator Edmunds' reply to Senators Blair, Hoar and others in the Senate, it appears to me that Senator Edmunds knows no more about the women of Utah than Herod knew of the infant Jesus when he commanded the children of Bethlehem under two years of age to be slain.

Utah is despised and oppressed by the Federal government to-day, but we hope to see the time when prejudice and bigotry will give place to reason and equity, and the ladies of Utah stand forth, as many of their sister reformers have done and are now doing, to ameliorate the condition of fallen humanity and lift up the oppressed and downtrodden of all nations.

Praying God's choice blessings to be ever with you and all associated with you,

Your affectionate sister in the Gospel,

ANN BRINGHURST.

NEPHI, MARCH 2, 1886.

Sisters in Mass Meeting Assembled:

I, as an American citizen, who count my forefathers among the Pilgrims who landed on Plymouth Rock, do feel to add my protest against the abuses and inhuman treatment that we, a peaceable people, are subjected to.

What is all this they are trying to do? Disfranchising a whole people who have committed no crime but to love and fear God, doing good to their fellows, teaching all men and women to live by the golden rule, to do unto others as we would have others do unto us, and praying for those who despitefully use us. Is it for this that law-makers sit and legislate to bring into bondage and disrepute a people who have broken no just law, but seek to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences?

Alas for the glorious Constitution which guarantees all mankind that privilege! Must it be dragged in the dust? Let those who do so beware; God our Heavenly Father is at the helm. "It must needs be that offenses come, but woe to them by whom they come." Shall we the women of Utah go back upon our husbands and fathers, and upon our religion, our allegiance to God at such dictation? No! verily no! Jesus, our elder brother, said: "Fear not those that have power to kill the body, but rather fear Him who has power to cast both body and soul into hell."

HANNAH GROVER.

NEPHI, MARCH 2, 1886.

Mrs. M. I. Horne:

Dear Sister:—I wish to unite with you in petitioning Congress to stop this bitter persecution of our husbands and families, and to redress our wrongs.

I am astonished that Americans, who boast of our world-renowned land of liberty, can tolerate one thought of such tyrannical laws as are now in force or are proposed to be enacted. If such bills are passed and become laws, let them drape the goddess of freedom in a pall of black and hang our nation's flag at half-mast, in sorrow for her disgrace.

Talk of Russian despotism! Even now spies are abroad among us, and our husbands cannot enter their peaceful homes without a marshal follows with a warrant of arrest. Their wives and families must appear in the courts of so-called justice, and if we do not answer their shameful and indecent questions, we are imprisoned for contempt. And if our husbands, who have promised to love and cherish us, do not give us up and cast us out on the world and disown our children they are sent to the penitentiary.

And for what? Because they will not obey man-made laws in preference to laws given of God, and are followers of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, men whom God did not rebuke for marrying many wives. King David fell under the displeasure of God for his sin with Uriah's wife, but not for lawfully marrying wives.

Some of our great statesman profess to believe the Bible, and soothe their consciences by saying these things are not to be practised now. When has God said so? O the dense darkness of this enlightened nineteenth century! Can they not see that they are fighting against God, lifting their puny voices and making laws in opposition to His divine will? Is He not unchangeable? When they stand before the judgment seat of Him who holds the destinies of all nations in His hand, they will find to their sorrow that His principles too are unchangeable and that His punishments are just.

CHARLOTTE H. EVANS.

SPANISH FORK, MARCH 3, 1886.

Dear Sisters of our Faith and Common Cause:

An announcement appeared in the *News* of the 2d instant, calling a mass meeting to protest against the indignities and insults heaped upon our sex in the District Courts of Utah. I fully endorse the movement, and although I will be unable to be present on the occasion, rest assured that you have my hearty sympathy as well as that of the great majority of the women of this Ward.

We feel keenly the indignities and insults to which our sisters are exposed before the courts. The men engaged in this unholy crusade seem to have lost every sense of true and refined manhood. Less pretentious men, in the presence of ladies, show a guardedness of manners that makes their presence tolerable, but these *persecuting* attorneys, when a female witness is before them to harass and insult, show themselves in the most repulsive light. Their conduct is so disgusting and ungentlemanly it is truly unpleasant to retain the thought of them in the mind.

They are Federal office-holders, but do their manner and deportment reflect credit and honor upon the President and Senate of the United States who placed them where they are, or is it any credit to President Cleveland to keep these men here, to insult and annoy this people? Does he know the indignities to which this people are subjected by these office-holders? Can he as the administrator of a just and equitable government endorse the present proceeding of the executive and judiciary of Utah?

Does Congress approve these unlawful acts? Should Congress approve, and even enact more unconstitutional measures to oppress and harass an innocent people, will the Supreme Court of the United States sustain such unjust laws and proceedings? Will the clergymen of America endorse such oppressive wickedness? They have done so before. Will the fifty millions of people in this nation permit the crushing out of the best people on the continent? If so, then farewell liberty! and let the heavens hear and the longed for promise come.

Your sister in the covenant of peace,

HARRIET L. ADAMSON.

SPRING CITY, MARCH 3, 1886.

President M. I. Horne:

Dear Sister:—I regret that circumstances do not favor my attending the sisters' mass meeting. I have notified some of the presidents, from whom you may probably hear, yet I fear the time is too limited and the mails are slow. I am quite sure that every society in this Stake would heartily respond to the efforts made to retain our rights of suffrage, and also to solicit protection of our sex against insult and unfeeling conduct from those holding authority in the courts of Utah.

It is most deplorable that in this so-called free country, women should be arraigned before an inquisition to answer most indelicate and unheard of questions in order to convict their husbands and the fathers of their children.

I sincerely hope the Spirit of the Lord will preside over your meeting, and that He will soften the hearts of those who have power to defend us in our rights.

Very truly,

M. A. HYDE.

MORGAN, MARCH 4, 1886.

Mrs. M. I. Horne:

Dear Sister:—I can say for myself and in behalf of my sisters of Morgan Stake that we deeply feel the insults imposed upon us by the United States officials, and of the treatment that our honorable sisters receive at the hands of those who are sent to deal out "justice" to us but who show that they are devoid of both mercy and justice.

I have been in this country since 1853. We are a law-abiding people, and have broken no laws based upon the Constitution. When I contemplate the trials we have to pass through, I am led to exclaim: O Lord, how long wilt Thou suffer the wicked to hunt Thy people. But they are in the hands of the Lord and so are we, and shall have eternal lives if we are faithful, while they will have to suffer the wrath of an offended God.

No other people on earth would be as submissive as we are under the treatment that we have. When we consider that this is called the land of liberty and then look at things as they are, one is led to ask where is the liberty that our forefathers fought, bled and died for? It is gone. If it were possible, these crusaders would prevent us from exercising our very thoughts and take every vestige of right from us. Woe unto the men who sit at the head of the nation and justify such things! Little do they think of the net they are weaving under their own feet. May the Lord bless the sisters of Salt Lake for their energy in trying to protect the rights of their sex.

Your sister and co-laborer in the cause of truth,

LYDIA RICH.

PROVO, MARCH 4, 1886.

Mrs. M. I. Horne:

In addressing these few lines to you I desire the spirit of God to guide my thoughts as I put them into words. I bear my testimony to the truth of this work, for I know that it is true, having seen miracles performed, blessings and promises given by the authority of the Priesthood fulfilled, and above all the Comforter has whispered to me that it is true.

I claim the right, knowing what I do, to worship as I please, and I also claim to be an American citizen by adoption, and as one I protest against the insulting questions put to the women of Utah before the courts of this Territory, and I also wish to say that as the women are subject to the laws and liable to punishment for breaking them that they at least should have the privilege to elect the officers who carry the laws into effect.

I, for one, wish the world, and especially the President of the United States, to know the position of the women of Utah, both in regard to the insulting questions put to them and in the prohibiting of their voting. Hoping our petition will gain favor in the eyes of our rulers, I remain

Your sister in the Gospel of Christ,
ANN JONES.

CHICAGO, ILL.

To the Women of Utah in Mass Meeting Assembled, March 6, 1886:

Mrs. President and Ladies:—Though absent from your midst on this momentous occasion, I am with you in heart and feeling. Would I were with you, though it is in trying to benefit our common cause, and not from choice, that I am still away. Ye are my people, and I can say as Ruth to Naomi, "whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."

I rejoice in the demonstration you are making to-day in protesting against indignities, cruelties and grievous wrongs. It is the duty of every citizen of the United States to stand boldly forth in defense of freedom, justice and the rights of conscience; the people owe this loyalty to their country and to this free government established "by the people and for the people."

If the women of Utah did not publicly protest against the indignities and insults that are almost daily being offered to their sister women, under pretence of carrying out the provisions of the Edmunds law, they would be unworthy the name they bear, "the women of Zion," and the religion they have espoused, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which gives freedom to all mankind, both Jew and Gentile, bond and free.

Our honored forefathers fought for the freedom of this goodly land, and our noble ancestors, the Pilgrim band, left home, kindred and the graves of their dead, and their native country, to find a place of refuge in which to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, enduring the perils of the mighty deep, then unexplored, and of the wilderness, where savage Indians and beasts of prey had roamed unmolested from time immemorial. And when oppressed and tyrannized over by unjust men, and taxed without representation by the nation that had refused to them the right to worship God in the way that seemed to them the best, they resisted it even to the imperiling of their lives in that great contest of which we are all so justly proud—the war of the Revolution. You know its history, and the blood of those immortalized heroes flows in the veins of hundreds of the Latter-day Saints.

You know, too, the sentiments embodied in that glorious instrument, the "Declaration of Independence," given by inspiration of God. And shall we not maintain our rights under the Constitution we are proud to honor, and in accordance with its provisions which give to every individual freedom to worship God as his heart dictates? And have we not the right when it expressly declares and definitely states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof?" Yet the Congress of the United States has passed such a law, and the Supreme Court of the land has declared it constitutional. That law, hard and cruel as it seems to us, must be obeyed or the penalty submitted to, because it has been voted upon by the majority of those who are empowered to act for the people; and the masses of the people who know comparatively nothing of the "Mormons," have decided the matter for them, without investigation, on the representation of others and popular sentiment.

We are constantly being told that "the fifty-five millions of people in the United States are determined to blot out polygamy." Would that the fifty-five millions of people who are so unrelentingly arrayed against a mere handful to abolish a plurality of wives, would enforce some measures to secure life, liberty and property, and protect virtue, innocence and the honor of this great people from the insidious savages that are eating away the very life of the nation, destroying the purity of the young and sapping and undermining the foundations of all that is noblest and best in structure of modern society. The proof is apparent everywhere, that there is a mighty work to do in the world outside of Utah, and it is not confined to New England, or New York, Philadelphia or Washington.

The women of this fair land are menaced with something far more dreadful and nearer home than a plurality of wives, and there is not a day, if one observes outside her own immediate home, no not an hour, that the sensitive heart is not pained with the wrongs and the sorrows of women and children.

That greater liberty has been given to women in our Church than elsewhere is indeed true; that now equality of sex prevails is undeniable. That men and women have always voted equally upon all ecclesiastical matters is a well known fact, and the utmost freedom of speech has been the right and privilege of women in the Church from the first. That all this has been elevating in its tendency, and educational to women, every careful observer must readily perceive. The aim and influence of our institutions has been to lift women up to a higher standard of thought and intelligence, to protect and guard virtue, to promote self-reliance and individual development; and it is a principle of our religion to teach our girls, as well as our boys, self-protection, and to instruct our boys, as well as our girls, that virtue and chastity are just as essential in man as in woman.

In common with you, I protest most solemnly and emphatically against the harsh and cruel measures now being enforced upon our people, and especially our women and young mothers, who are from time to time insulted, and every fine feeling of their nature abused, their delicacy and sensibility wounded and outraged by men who are coarse and cruel, who show no true respect for womanhood, no regard for the sacredness of motherhood. And with you, I appeal to the President and Congress of the United States for protection from these insults and wrongs to woman, and would beseech and entreat them for that common respect and justice to young women and mothers which the judges and courts of the Territory refuse in every instance to grant, though knowing, as they must know, how they violate the most sacred rights and privileges reserved to woman in all civilized countries, whatever her condition or station in life may be.

And with you I protest against the enforcement of any section of a bill before it has been made a law according to the regular form and order of the government, and also against unjust judges and their co-laborers, who pervert and misinterpret the law, and usurp power and authority that Congress and the courts have not yet conferred upon them. Compelling a first wife to testify against her husband is contrary to law, and to the established custom that has obtained in all ages, and in all civilized countries, and to threaten with pains and penalties for refusing to comply with such a requisition is a thing unheard of in a country that boasts of its higher enlightenment and unbounded protection to the weaker sex.

The proposition of Senator Edmunds to disfranchise the woman of Utah Territory, who have been invested with the right of suffrage so many years, is simply an act of despotism unworthy a man, and can only be aimed at the mere trifle of political power he would selfishly wrest from those who have been accused of no offense even against the Edmunds law; but he hopes, perchance, by thus robbing a few defenseless women to throw the balance of the vote in favor of his own party. It is not sufficient punishment for this wronged and persecuted people to disfranchise all plural wives, imprison or banish from their homes and firesides the husbands of innocent women, and the fathers of helpless little ones, leaving many desolated hearths, and filling the land with mourning, but Senator Edmunds proposes to add insult to injury and to disfranchise those who are accused of no crime whatever. He would rob them of a vested right, either for party purposes, or because of religious belief, making the blow general, to "Mormon" and non-"Mormon" alike, in order to hide his real motive.

In the name of justice and of right, I am with you in indignantly protesting against all the wrongs and cruelties perpetrated upon the people of Utah in the name of and under the sanction of law, and join heart and hand with you in appealing to our countrymen, who value the sanctity of home and the sacredness of family ties, to assist us in maintaining our rights under the Constitution, and also in memorializing the President and Congress of the United States, entreating them to grant an impartial administration of the laws, and to examine into the proceedings of courts and juries, and take into careful consideration our present circumstances and prospects in the near future, and perchance they may ascertain that even "Mormon" women have some rights that the country is bound to respect, and that as rational beings they are entitled to the protection of the government under which they live which guarantees to all the rights of conscience.

Faithfully yours,

EMMELINE B. WELLS.

MEMORIAL.

Following is the memorial prepared by the committee appointed at the mass meeting and forwarded by them to Washington. The bearers of it were Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells and Dr. Ellen B. Ferguson:

To the Honorable President, and the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled:

Gentlemen:—We, your memorialists, respectfully represent that at a mass meeting of the women of Utah, held in the Theatre, Salt Lake City, March 6, 1886, attended by over two thousand ladies, representing the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of the whole Territory, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE WOMEN OF UTAH IN MASS MEETING ASSEMBLED.

Whereas, The rights and liberties of women are placed in jeopardy by the present cruel and inhuman proceedings in the Utah courts, and in the contemplated measure in Congress to deprive the women voters in Utah of the elective franchise; and,

Whereas, Womanhood is outraged by the compulsion used in the courts of Utah to force mothers on pain of imprisonment to disclose their personal condition and that of their friends in relation to anticipated maternity, and to give information as to the fathers of their children; and,

Whereas, These violations of decency have now reached the length of compelling legal wives to testify against their husbands without their consent, in violation both of written statutes and the provisions of the common law, therefore, be it

Resolved, By the women of Utah in mass meeting assembled, that the suffrage originally conferred upon us as a political privilege, has become a vested right by possession and usage for fifteen years, and that we protest against being deprived of that right without process of law, and for no other reason than that we do not vote to suit our political opponents.

Resolved, That we emphatically deny the charge that we vote otherwise than according to our own free choice, and point to the fact that the ballot is absolutely secret in Utah as proof that we are protected in voting for whom and what we choose with perfect liberty.

Resolved, That as no wife of a polygamist, legal or plural, is permitted to vote under the laws of the United States, to deprive non-polygamous women of the suffrage is high-handed oppression for which no valid excuse can be offered.

Resolved, That the questions concerning their personal condition, the relationship they bear to men marked down as victims to special law, and the paternity of their born and unborn children, which have been put to women before grand juries and in open courts in Utah, are an insult to pure womanhood, an outrage upon the sensitive feelings of our sex and a disgrace to officers and judges who have propounded and enforced them.

Resolved, That we honor those noble women who, standing upon their rights and refusing to reply to improper and insulting questions, such as no true man nor any court with any regard for propriety would compel them to answer, have gone to prison and suffered punishment without crime, rather than betray the most sacred confidence and yield to the brutal mandates of a little brief authority.

Resolved, That the action of the District Attorney and the Chief Justice of Utah, in compelling a lawful wife to testify for the prosecution in a criminal case involving the liberty of her husband and in face of her own earnest protest, is a violation of laws which those officials have sworn to uphold, is contrary to precedent and usage for many centuries, and is an invasion of family rights and of that union between husband and wife which both law and religion have held sacred from time immemorial.

Resolved, That we express our profound appreciation of the moral courage exhibited by Senators Call, Morgan, Teller, Brown and others, and also by Mrs. Belva H. Lockwood, who, in the face of almost overwhelming prejudice, have defended the constitutional rights of the people of Utah.

Resolved, That we extend our heartfelt thanks to the ladies of the Woman Suffrage Association assembled in Boston, and unite in praying that God may speed the day when both men and women shall shake from their shoulders the yoke of tyranny.

Resolved, That we call upon the wives and mothers of the United States to come to our help in resisting these encroachments upon our liberties and these outrages upon our peaceful homes and family relations, and that a committee be appointed at this meeting to memorialize the President and Congress of the United States in relation to our wrongs, and to take all necessary measures to present our views and feelings to the country.

The following ladies were selected as a committee to draft and present a memorial to the President and Congress: Mrs. S. M. Kimball, Mrs. E. S. Taylor, Dr. Romania B. Pratt, Mrs. M. I. Horne, Salt Lake City; Mrs. Mary John, Provo; Mrs. Mary Pitchforth, Nephi; Mrs. H. C. Brown, Ogden; Miss Ida I. Cook, Logan; Miss Ida Coombs, Payson.

In pursuance of this appointment, we present the following in behalf of the women of Utah:

On the 22d of March, 1882, an act of Congress was passed which is now commonly known as the Edmunds law. It was generally understood to have been framed for the purpose of settling what is called the Utah question, by condoning plural marriages up to that date and preventing their occurrence in the future, and also to protect the home, maintain the integrity of the family and shield innocent women and children from the troubles that might arise from its enforcement. But instead of being administered and executed in this spirit, it has been made the means of inflicting upon the women of Utah immeasurable sorrow and unprecedented indignities, of disrupting families, of destroying homes, and of outraging the tenderest and finest feelings of human nature.

The law has been so construed by the courts as to bring its penalties to bear upon the innocent. Men who had honestly arranged with their families so as to keep within the limits of the law have been punished with the greatest possible severity, and their wives and children have been forced before courts and grand juries, and compelled to disclose the most secret and private relations which in all civilized countries are held sacred to the parties. The meaning of the law has been changed so many times that no one can say definitely what is its signification. Those who have lived by the law, as interpreted in one case, find, as soon as they are entrapped, that a new rendering is constructed to make it applicable to their own. Under the latest ruling, a man who has contracted plural marriages, no matter at how remote a date, must not only repudiate his families and cease all connection with them, but if he is known to associate with them in the most distant manner, support them and show any regard whatever for their welfare, the offense of unlawful cohabitation is considered to have been fully established, and he is liable to exorbitant fines and imprisonment for an indefinite period, one district judge holding that a separate indictment may be found for each day of such association and recognition. In the case of Solomon Edwards, recently accused of this offense, it was proven by the evidence for the prosecution, that the defendant had lived with one wife only since the passage of the Edmunds act, but after having separated from his former plural wife, he called with his legal wife at the former's residence to obtain a child, an agreement having been made that each party should have one of the two children, and the Court ruled that this was unlawful cohabitation in the meaning of the law, and defendant was convicted.

In the case of Lorenzo Snow, now on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, the evidence for the prosecution showed that the defendant had lived with only one wife since the passage of the Edmunds law, that he had not even visited other portions of his family except to call for a few moments to speak to one of his sons, but because he supported his wives and children and did not utterly and entirely cast them off, under instructions of Judge Orlando W. Powers, he was convicted three times for the alleged offense and sentenced in each case to the full penalties of the law, aggregating $900 fine, besides costs, and eighteen months' imprisonment, the judge stating in his instructions to the jury: "It is not necessary that the evidence should show that the defendant and these women, or either of them, occupied the same bed, slept in the same room or dwelt *under the same roof*." "The offense of cohabitation is complete when a man, to all outward appearance, is living *or associating* with two or more women as his wives."

Thus women who are dependent upon the men whom they regard as their husbands, with whom they have lived, as they have regarded it, in honorable wedlock, must not only be separated from their society and protection, but must be treated as outcasts, and be driven forth with their children to shame and distress, for the bare "association" of friendship is counted a crime and punished with all the severity inflicted upon those who have not in any way severed their plural family relations.

In order to fasten the semblance of guilt upon men accused of this offense, women are arrested and forcibly taken before sixteen men and plied with questions that no decent women can hear without a blush. Little children are examined upon the secret relations of their parents, and wives in regard to their own condition and the doings of their husband. If they decline to answer, they are imprisoned in the penitentiary as though they were criminals. A few instances we will cite for your consideration:

In the Third District Court, Novpmber 14, 1882, Annie Gallifant, having been asked by the grand jury a number of questions which she declined to answer, one of them being as to the name of the man to whom she was married, she was brought into court, and still declining, was sent to the penitentiary where, although daily expecting to become a mother, she was kept till the grand jury was discharged. On the trial of John Connelly. She was again brought into court and asked: "When did you first cohabit with your husband?" "How long after you commenced cohabiting with your husband was it that your child was born?"

Miss Belle Harris was sentenced to fine and imprisonment in the Second District Court, at Beaver, by Judge Twiss, because she declined to answer whether she was a married woman, and if so, who was her husband. She was taken to the penitentiary, a building used for the confinement of criminals of the most hideous types, with her babe in her arms, and leaving one behind with her mother. When asked the questions mentioned, by the grand jury, she answered: "Gentlemen, you have no legal right to ask this question, and I decline to answer it."

The question was an insult and a vile insinuation of departed virtue; and yet were she a public prostitute, no such question would ever be asked. She was fined $35 and imprisoned three and a half months, when she was released by Judge Twiss. She is a lady with strength of character, who was defending a principle; her right as a witness was as sacred as any right recognized in courts. She was a martyr to personal right, and in defense of a vital principle of freedom. The question was not directed to her knowledge of any crime, but to her social relation to another, she not being charged with any crime.

On May 22, 1884, in the same court, Nellie White, for refusing to answer personal questions in regard to her relations with Jared Roundy, was sent to the penitentiary, under the same roof with murderers, burglars and other convicts, and confined there until July 9th, the grand jury being kept over and not discharged for the purpose of protracting her imprisonment until the beginning of a new term.

In the court of U. S. Commissioner McKay, June 20, 1885, Elizabeth Ann Starkey was brought in as a witness against Charles S. White. On refusing to answer the question, "have you ever in this county, within the last two years, occupied the same bed with defendant," she was sentenced to one day's imprisonment and a fine of $50, and placed in the custody of the U. S. Marshal until payment.

On June 22, she again declined to answer, and was fined $100 and committed until payment.

On June 24th, she refused to answer similar personal questions to the grand jury, and was committed to the penitentiary until August 21st, but was again imprisoned and kept till October 6th. While in prison she was approached and grossly insulted by an employe of the Marshal's.

On the 15th of September, 1885, Eliza Shafer was sent to the penitentiary for refusing to answer the question, "have you, within three years last past, lived and cohabited with J. W. Snell as his wife?" The Court ordered her imprisonment until the question was answered.

On February 15th, 1886, Mrs. Martha J. Cannon was brought into the Third District Court, and the grand jury complained that she would not answer certain questions, among them the following: "Are you not now a pregnant woman?" "Are you not now with child by your husband, George Q. Cannon?" On still declining to answer, the Court adjudged her guilty of contempt, and pending sentence, she was placed under bonds of $2,500, which were subsequently raised to $5,000.

On March 2d, 1886, Miss Huldah Winters was arrested by Deputy Marshal Vandercook, at her home in Pleasant Grove, forty miles distant, no charge being preferred against her, but it was suspected that she was a plural wife of George Q. Cannon. She was brought to Salt Lake City and conducted to the court house, where she was required to furnish bonds for $5,000 for her appearance from time to time as she might be wanted.

Under the suspicion that any woman or young lady is some man's plural wife, she is liable at any time to be arrested; not merely subpoenaed, but taken by force by deputy marshals and brought before a grand jury and examined and browbeaten and insulted by the prosecuting attorney or his minions. But this is not all. In defiance of law and the usages of courts for ages, the legal wife is now compelled to submit to the same indignities.

On February 20, 1886, in the Third District Court, in the second trial of Isaac Langton, upon whom the prosecution had failed to fasten the slightest evidence of guilt, Prosecuting Attorney Dickson exclaimed: "If the Court will allow me, I would like to call Mrs. Langton" (defendant's legal wife). After a strong protest from the attorneys for the defendant, the Court permitted the outrage, and against her and her husband's consent she was compelled to testify for the prosecution; the evidence, however, completely exonerating the husband, who was discharged.

But this has now been set up as a precedent, and within the past few days a legal wife has been taken before the grand jury, as many have been before, who refused to give evidence but this time was compelled to answer the questions propounded by the public prosecutor against the lawful husband.

We also direct your attention to the outrages perpetrated by rough and brutal deputy marshals, who watch around our dooryards, peer into our bedroom windows, ply little children with questions about their parents, and, when hunting their human prey, burst into people's domiciles and terrorize the innocent.

On January 11, 1886, early in the morning, five deputy marshals appeared at the residence of Wm. Grant, American Fork, forced the front door open, and, while the inmates were still in bed, made their way up stairs to their sleeping apartments. There they were met by one of the daughters of Wm. Grant, who was aroused by the intrusion, and, despite her protestations, without giving time for the object of their search to get up and dress himself, made their way into his bedroom, finding him still in bed and his wife *en dishabille* in the act of dressing herself.

Early on the morning of January 18, 1886, a company of deputies invaded the peaceful village of West Jordan, and under pretense of searching for polygamists, committed a number of depredations. Among other acts of violence they intruded into the house of F. A. Cooper, arrested him and subpœnaed his legal wife as a witness against him. This so shocked her that a premature birth occurred next day, and her system was so deranged by the disturbance that in a few days she was in her grave.

February 23, 1886, at about 11 o'clock at night, two deputy marshals visited the house of Solomon Edwards, about seven miles from Eagle Rock, Idaho, and arrested Mrs. Edwards, his legal wife, after she had retired to bed, and required her to accompany them immediately to Eagle Rock. Knowing something of the character of one of the deputies, from his having visited the house before, when he indulged in a great deal of drinking, profanity and abuse, she feared to accompany them without some protection, and requested a neighbor to go along on horseback while she rode in the buggy with the two deputies. On the way the buggy broke down and she, with an infant in her arms, was compelled to walk the rest of the distance—between two and three miles.

They could have no reason for subpœnaing her in the night, and compelling her to accompany them at such an untimely hour, except a fiendish malice and a determination to heap all the indignities possible upon her because she was a "Mormon" woman, for she never attempted to evade the serving of the warrant, and was perfectly willing to report herself at Eagle Rock the next day. She was taken to Salt Lake City to testify against her husband.

On February 23, 1886, Deputy Marshal Gleason went to Greenville, near Beaver, Utah. The story of their conduct is thus related by the ladies who were the subjects of their violence:

MRS. EASTON'S STATEMENT.

"About 7 a.m., deputies came to our house and demanded admittance. I asked them to wait until we got dressed, and we would let them in. Deputy Gleason said he would not wait, and raised the window and got partly through by the time we opened the door when he drew himself back and came in through the door. He then went into the bedroom, one of the young ladies had got under the bed, from which Gleason pulled the bedding and ordered the young lady to come out. This she did, and ran into the other room where she was met by Thompson. I asked Gleason why he pulled the bedding from the bed, and he answered: 'By G—d, I found Watson in the same kind of a place.' He then said he thought Easton was concealed in a small compass, and that he expected to find him in a similar place, and was going to get him before he left."

MISS MORRIS' STATEMENT.

"Deputy Gleason came to my bed and pulled the clothing off me, asking if there was any one in bed with me. He then went to the fire-place and pulled a sack of straw from there and looked up the chimney. One of them next pulled up a piece of carpet, when Gleason asked Thompson if he thought there was any one under there. Thompson said 'No,' and Gleason exclaimed, 'G—— d—— it, we will look any way!' They also looked in cupboards, boxes, trunks, etc., and a small tea chest, but threw nothing out."

WILLIAM THOMAS' STATEMENT.

"The deputies called at our place about daybreak, and came to my window and rapped. I asked who was there, but received no answer. They then tried to raise the window, when I called again, and they said they were officers. I asked them to wait until I was dressed, but they said no, or they would break in the door. I told them they had better let that out, and they went around to mother's door, which was opened, and father was summoned. The deputies next went to the bed of Mrs. Elliotts and subpœnaed her. Gleason said, with a frightful oath, that he knew there was another woman in the house, and searched in boxes, trunks, etc."

These are a few instances of the course pursued towards defenseless women, who are not even charged with any offense against the law. We solemnly protest against these desecrations of our homes and invasions of our rights. We are contented with our lot when left unmolested, and would enjoy the peace of quiet homes, and society of our husbands and children, and the blessings that only belong to God-fearing families trained to habits of thrift, temperance, self-restraint and mutual help, if it were not for these outrages which are committed in the name of law, under the false pretense of protecting home and preserving the family.

We learn that measures are in contemplation before your honorable bodies to still further harass and distress us. We protest against the movement to deprive us of the elective franchise, which we have exercised for over fifteen years. What have we done that we should thus be treated as felons? Our only crime is that we have not voted as our persecutors dictate. We sustain our friends, not our enemies, at the polls. We declare that in Utah the ballot is free. It is entirely secret. No one can know how we vote unless we choose to reveal it. We are not compelled by any men, or society, or influence to vote contrary to our own free convictions. No woman living with a bigamist, polygamist, or person cohabiting with more than one woman, can now vote at any election in Utah. Why deprive those against whom nothing can be charged, even by implication, of a sacred right which has become their property?

We ask for justice. We appeal to you not to tighten the bonds which are now so tense that we can scarcely endure them. We ask that the laws may be fairly and impartially executed. We see good and noble men dragged to jail to linger among felons, while debauched and polluted men, some of them Federal officers who have been detected in the vilest kind of depravity, protected by the same court and officers that turn all their energies and engines of power towards the ruin of our homes and the destruction of our dearest associations. We see pure women forced to disclose their conjugal relations or go to prison, while the wretched creatures who pander to men's basest passions are left free to ply their horrible trade, and may vote at the polls, while legal wives of men with plural families are disenfranchised. We see the law made specially against our people so shamefully administered that every new case brings a new construction of its meaning, and no home is safe from instant intrusion by ruffians in the name of the law. And now we are threatened with entire deprivation of every right and privilege of citizenship, to gratify a prejudice that is fed on ignorance and vitalized by bigotry.

We respectfully ask for a full investigation of Utah affairs. For many years our husbands, brothers and sons have appealed for this in vain. We have been condemned almost unheard. Everything reported to our detriment is received; our cries to be heard have been rejected. We plead for suspension of all measures calculated to deprive us of our political rights and privileges, and to harass, annoy and bring our people into bondage and distress, until a commission, duly and specially authorized to make full inquiry into the affairs of this Territory, have investigated and reported. And while the blessing of Him who will one day deal out even-handed justice to all shall rest upon your honorable bodies, your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc.

Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball,
Mrs. M. Isabella Horne,
Mrs. Elmina S. Taylor,
Dr. Romania B. Pratt,
Mrs. Jane S. Richards,
Mrs. H. C. Brown,
Mrs. Mary Pitchforth,
Miss Ida I. Cook,
Miss Ida Coombs,
Mrs. Mary John,
Mrs. Agnes Douglas,
Mrs. Emily S. Richards, Sec'y.
Committee.